

Fixing the Liturgy



Friars, Sisters,
and the
Dominican Rite,
1256–1516



CLAIRE TAYLOR JONES

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Claire Taylor Jones

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NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

In order to distinguish between men's and women's communities of the Dominican order, I use the word *convents* exclusively to refer to communities of women and *friaries* exclusively for men. When both friaries and convents are included, I use the word *communities* or, occasionally, *houses*.

In transcribing medieval German texts, I follow the spelling of the sources, both manuscript and print, as closely as possible given a limited range of special characters. Letters that appear with a small *e* above them have been transcribed with an umlaut (*ä, ö, ü*). I have not regularized the use of *v* and *u* or *i* and *j* in the sources, except in cases where a *v* appears with a small *i* above it, which I transcribe as “*ú*.” I introduce punctuation according to modern norms when transcribing medieval sources. Likewise, when handling medieval Latin texts, I follow the spelling of the sources. When translating medieval sources that refer to liturgical chants, I classicize the Latin spelling in conformity with the guidelines of the Cantus Index (cantusindex.org) and Cantus Database (cantus.uwaterloo.ca), which facilitates identifying and cross-referencing the chants. I have silently resolved abbreviations in both Latin and German transcriptions.

In her edition of the letters from St. Katherine in Nuremberg to St. Katherine in St. Gallen, Antje Willing indicated the incipits of liturgical chants by printing them in small caps. When quoting from her edition, I have rendered these Latin incipits in italics instead.

INTRODUCTION

To the modern reader, medieval liturgy can seem impossibly complex, so much so that introductions to its study usually acknowledge this affective hurdle. John Harper, for example, warns his readers that “complexity, ambiguity, and confusion can deter the faint-hearted at every point in the struggle to piece together medieval liturgy.”¹ Bruce Holsinger similarly laments that “one aspect of medieval liturgy that often deters literary scholars from pursuing it in depth is its overwhelming organizational and textual complexity.”² Scholarship on medieval liturgy has even been portrayed as “an ancient mystery cult,” whose “arcane” practices make it “hard for a mere layman to penetrate these mysteries.”³

Far be it from me to claim otherwise. Indeed, medieval liturgy often was also extremely complex for the people who practiced it daily. This complexity arose from the intricate system of interlocking elements that made up the liturgical year and the schedule of religious observances performed each day. Over the course of the Middle Ages, this complex liturgical system evolved and expanded. Changes to existing rituals and the addition of new celebrations increased the complexity of the liturgy and made the task of coordinating its performance more difficult. In addition to change over time, local piety also obligated religious communities to regional observances that needed to be integrated with widespread liturgical structures. Even in the Dominican order, which took pains to enforce a uniform liturgy throughout its communities, liturgical coordination entailed negotiating multiple obligations and reconciling internal inconsistencies, often through independent judgment calls on a case-by-case basis. As Maura O’Carroll comments, “The minutiae of this process could and sometimes did defeat the very purpose of liturgy.”⁴ Many communities,

however, had the benefit of written guidelines developed to help people get a fix on this complex system.

This study concerns these written guidelines and the ways in which they facilitated the work of liturgical planning in the Dominican order. My focus does not lie on the performance of the liturgy, its aesthetic qualities, or its sensual experience. Instead, I lay bare the work behind the scenes, so to speak, by analyzing the practical manuals used to coordinate the liturgy in advance. Most of the manuscript sources I consider in this book have never been examined before—some have not yet even received published catalog descriptions. These documents have fallen between the cracks of scholarly attention for various reasons: Some have erroneously been assumed to be strict copies of an edited source, some have been discounted or unrecognized because they are written in the vernacular. Yet these normative guidelines for liturgical practice are all invaluable sources for late medieval religious culture, and they reveal a new narrative about the evolution of the medieval Dominican liturgy. Moreover, the method for using them in scholarly research is similar to the way in which they were used in medieval practice. Understanding how they were employed by medieval users prepares modern researchers across disciplines to access these rich and largely untapped sources. In this book, I explain how these liturgical manuals were originally designed to function, I demonstrate how they changed over time, and I expose how the guidelines composed for men's communities were adapted for women's use.

With this attention to change over time and to gendered context, my title—*Fixing the Liturgy*—has a twofold sense: *Fix* can mean to establish, make firm, entrench in law; it can also mean to repair, correct, put back in working order. These two definitions of *fixing* are at play throughout this study as I trace the evolution of the Dominican Rite from its formal inauguration in the mid-thirteenth century to its lived practice in the reform circles of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In the later chapters, I focus on women's communities because the liturgical experiences and opportunities open to convents of Dominican sisters differed from those of the friars for whom the Dominican Rite had been designed. Attending to women's liturgy therefore reveals the tensions in the Dominican liturgical system and the areas in which—at least for women—something needed to be fixed.

Liturgy is a key framework for understanding medieval cultural production, especially in religious communities. Scholarship on medieval religious women has largely taken for granted that liturgical performance occurred, assuming that it happened more or less automatically. The processes of administration and planning that enabled this performance and on which this book focuses have not been fully appreciated and have rarely been previously considered. Yet liturgical coordination was centrally important to convent life. Given the complexities mentioned above, fulfilling this responsibility required practical training, complex reasoning, and a broad knowledge base. As I demonstrate in this book, even when friars and sisters sought to follow the rules imposed on them as strictly as possible, the liturgy was complex, unwieldy, and even internally incoherent enough that it demanded independent thought and action. The friars and sisters who planned the liturgy in their communities developed an astounding degree of expertise. The task facing these expert administrators was both facilitated and governed by written documents containing guidelines for selecting texts and melodies and for scheduling celebrations. In this book, I focus on the Dominican order's formal regulations and the sisters' practical manuals: the genres of *ordinarium* and *directorium*.

Defining *Ordinarium* and *Directorium*

The Dominican *ordinarium* belonged to a liturgical genre generally designated in modern scholarship by the terms *ordinal* or *liber ordinarius*. Medieval Dominican sources, in particular the acts of the general chapter, consistently used the term *ordinarium* rather than *liber ordinarius*, and I follow that usage when referring to the standardized, order-wide Dominican text of this genre.⁵ Such books have been described as stage directions for the liturgy. They served first and foremost to assist in scheduling, coordinating, and choreographing liturgical worship according to specific performance patterns, which varied by region, diocese, or religious order. This book type originally developed to record practices and processions in a specific location, but the reform orders of the high Middle Ages (including the Dominicans) used the genre to standardize liturgical worship across all affiliated houses.

In high and late medieval religious communities, the task of liturgical coordination was undertaken by an administrator called the cantor or chantress.⁶ This person worked in consultation and collaboration with a small group of other administrators, such as the sacristan (responsible for the church building and liturgical instruments), and was subject to the approval of the community's superior (in Dominican communities, the prior or prioress). Orchestrating the musical aspects of liturgical performance entailed selecting the appropriate chants and readings, running group rehearsals, assigning various participants to solo or small-group parts, and training participants for their roles.

From an organizational perspective, this task was hampered by the layout of liturgical books, which were designed to facilitate performance, not planning. For practical reasons, the vast majority of liturgical manuscript types contain the texts and melodies pertaining only to one participant role and one location in the worship space. For example, a lectionary contained the readings (lessons) for the use of the lector and belonged on the lectern.⁷ The chants to be sung by soloists were in a different book, which was located where singers could access it in the open space between the two halves of the community, who sat facing each other. The prayers to be said by the prior or prioress or the hebdomadarian (the weekly presider) were in yet a third book placed on a pulpit. Each liturgical celebration involved multiple liturgical actors situated in different locations within the church or the choir (i.e., the architectural space in which the community gathered for worship and communal prayer). Therefore, the texts and melodies necessary for a single performance were strewn through several different books. This arrangement was the best solution to help those with special roles during the liturgy itself, but it required the cantor or chantress to juggle several books while planning.

By the high Middle Ages, most religious institutions, monastic and secular, had compiled a *liber ordinarius* (also called ordinal or ordinarium) to facilitate collating these sources. This book type contained a flexible set of texts unified by their function of giving abbreviated instructions for the liturgy, which aided the cantor or chantress in the task of organizing the community and preparing them for worship.⁸ Unlike the various other liturgical books with full texts and chants, ordinals generally gave only the incipits (first words) of liturgical texts and had no musical notation.

Ordinals lacked these elements because these books had no place in liturgical performance; they merely assisted in preparation. They provided guidance for selecting chants and texts, information on which books contained them, and advice about resolving calendrical conflicts, especially with regard to the shifting dates of Easter. Writing about the 1404 ordinal from Barking Abbey in England, Anne Bagnall Yardley notes that “many of the instructions in the ordinal exist simply to clarify the exact precedence of one feast over another depending on the day of the week and the liturgical season in which it falls.”⁹ Ordinals also often contained rubrics (instructions) with a wealth of information about ritual gestures, processions, vestments, lighting, paraphernalia, and even instructions for ringing the church bells. The ordinal was the cantor’s or chantress’s reference volume, or handbook, to aid in preparing the community for all aspects—musical, textual, ritual—of the liturgy each year.

Broad religious and social shifts spurred the invention of the genre and its spread. The explosion of new feasts in the high Middle Ages prompted communities to preserve their increasingly complex liturgical traditions by fixing them in writing or to reform (fix) liturgical variants through written coordination.¹⁰ Ordinals arose as hyperlocal guidelines pertaining to only one church, sometimes to protect their traditional customs in response to some sort of perceived threat to communal identity. For example, Jeffrey Hamburger and Eva Schlotheuber argue that the *liber ordinarius* for the Abbey of Nivelles was recorded during a power struggle among the abbess, the canonesses, and the canons in which the chapter challenged the sovereignty of the abbess.¹¹ Similarly, Jürgen Bärsch links the “defensive postures [Abwehrhaltungen]” of diocesan ordinals to the papacy’s thirteenth-century adoption of the Franciscan Rite.¹² Ordinals were often produced in times of liturgical reform, change, threat, or pressure either to protect the old or to propagate the new.

Although the genre was invented to codify and thereby protect the practices of a single church, it lent itself to implementation over broader geographical areas. Aimé-Georges Martimort correlates the evolution of ordinals in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with the rise of the reform orders (e.g., Cistercians, Franciscans, and Dominicans), for whom liturgical purity, simplicity, and above all uniformity formed important goals.¹³ Standardized ordinals became a tool for religious orders or reform

movements interested in greater uniformity and centralization, especially from the thirteenth century on.¹⁴ The Dominican ordinarium belonged to this genre of standardizing ordinal that aimed to ensure a uniform liturgy throughout the order.

In this book, I use the term *directorium* to designate a specific group of manuscripts that have been called a wide variety of names by catalogers, most often *liber ordinarius* in acknowledgment of their function in coordinating liturgical performance.¹⁵ (I provide an extensive disambiguation with a discussion of medieval terminology in [Appendix 5](#).) To be sure, the contents and structure of these manuscripts fit the criteria that normally qualify documents as ordinals. They provided bare-bones instructions for liturgical observances throughout the year; they were tailored to the local community's special practices and circumstances; chants were indicated only by incipit (i.e., the opening words); and melodies were designated by name without musical notation. However, these manuals were not exhaustive in content. Marius Schramke describes one directorium as “a form [of the *liber ordinarius*] reduced to peculiarities [eine auf Besonderheiten reduzierte Form].”¹⁶ The directoria were instead supplemental, and they could not be effectively used without a standard Dominican ordinarium on hand, as well. These manuals addressed faults, lacks, or uncertainties in the standard Dominican ordinarium, focusing largely on local observances and scheduling conflicts. Most important, unlike the standard Dominican ordinarium, the manuscripts I include in this set were compiled not only *for* but also—in every case—*by* Dominican sisters.

These two manuals, the ordinarium and the directorium, each held a different regulatory status and enjoyed a different breadth of distribution. The ordinarium was a fixed legal document that could only be changed through the legislative process that I describe in [Chapter 2](#). The Dominican order centrally propagated this universally valid, Latin-language ordinarium in order to achieve uniformity in the celebration of the Dominican Rite. Yet it was translated into German multiple times and, in the process, adapted to reflect the liturgical restrictions placed on women. Furthermore, as new saints and new feasts were introduced to the calendar (for example, Corpus Christi, instituted at the beginning of the fourteenth century), the instructions of the standard ordinarium grew insufficient, particularly

regarding the scheduling guidelines. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Dominican sisters produced supplemental directoria in German, seeking thereby to fix (i.e., correct) the insufficiencies in the ordinarium manuscripts they possessed and to fix (i.e., establish) the variations required by local circumstance and by the limitations on women's liturgy. The ordinarium and the directorium together governed the way Dominican sisters celebrated the liturgy.

Liturgy in Scholarship on Religious Women

Scholarship on medieval Christianity has long recognized the centrality of the liturgy to daily life and cultural production within religious communities. Indeed, the word *centrality* does not adequately capture the complete pervasiveness of liturgy, understood as ritualized communal action. Given the highly regimented nature of life according to a religious rule, even banal activities such as eating meals had a liturgical aspect.¹⁷ Whereas earlier liturgical scholarship often focused on ceremonies that involved priests, more expansive definitions of liturgy have now become widely accepted, allowing scholars to analyze the communal rituals of religious women as "liturgy" even in the absence of male clerics.¹⁸ As Gisela Muschiol points out, the celebration of mass required a priest (i.e., a male celebrant), but the divine office (the daily cycle of prayer hours) did not and "during the high Middle Ages, there are also many examples of women filling the role of liturgical presider within female monastic communities."¹⁹ Furthermore, attempting to differentiate between "devotion" and "liturgy" is not entirely commensurate with medieval conceptions of pious ritual. As Jürgen Bärsch writes, "No distinction was drawn between the official liturgy of the Church and the ritual practices of the faithful. Terms such as para-liturgy or popular piety, and the ideas behind them, are largely anachronistic."²⁰ Many medieval Christians, especially those living in a religious community, experienced liturgy as an encompassing practice that organized almost their entire lives.²¹

Three major areas of inquiry into the place of liturgy in medieval religious communities have contributed substantially to our understanding of the cultural production not only of Dominican sisters in particular but also of medieval religious women more broadly. First, scholars have

increasingly devoted attention to liturgical texts and rituals as inspirations and intertextual touchpoints in mystical and visionary literature by and about religious women. Second, in addition to composing texts that reflected their experiences and interpretations of liturgy, medieval women created original works for direct use in liturgical performance, ranging from textiles to books to chants. Finally, growing consideration of women's visionary writing and artistic production has fueled a recurring scholarly debate concerning whether and to what degree religious women, especially in the late Middle Ages, were literate in Latin. All three of these areas of scholarship pertain to the liturgical manuals I examine, especially those in German, and these documents in turn can further these strands of historical research.

Liturgy as a Source for Mysticism and Visionary Literature

Texts by and about enclosed religious women in the Middle Ages are steeped in liturgy. Scholars have long recognized the role of liturgical experience in accounts of visions. Already in 1938, Stephanus Hilpisch gathered accounts from the *vitae* (lives, or life stories) of Dominican sisters in which saints and angels participate in the community's liturgical performance.²² These Dominican accounts share many features with other visionary literature, especially with the Latin accounts written by the Cistercian nuns of Helfta.²³ As Bärsch notes, it should not surprise us that the writings of religious women across multiple orders teem with references to the liturgy, since "day, week, and year were structured by divine worship, ... these women lived these modes of expression. For this reason alone, the liturgy should be seen as one of the most significant sources of female mysticism."²⁴ Intense liturgical devotion was not the exclusive purview of women. The spiritual literature written by religious men in the Middle Ages likewise reflects deep engagement with the liturgy through pervasive citation of the scriptural texts encountered daily during communal ritual.²⁵ Mary Carruthers influentially argued that practices of memorization, including liturgical recitation, provided the framework for medieval writing: "Composition starts in memorized reading."²⁶ Building on Carruthers, Anna Maria Busse Berger demonstrated that well-developed techniques of liturgical memorization supported musical performance and

composition not only of monophonic (single-voice) chant but also of polyphony.²⁷ Liturgical training formed the basis of much elite cultural production.

Recent scholarship on women's visionary literature has gone far beyond simple observations that the liturgy was omnipresent in their writings because it was omnipresent in their lives. For different writers, the liturgy served varying functions within visionary literature—or, perhaps better, different elements of liturgical performance inspired religious writers in different ways. Liturgy was (and is) a multimedia performance experience comprising sound, images, text, and movement, and it elicited synesthetic accounts and descriptions.²⁸ Medieval visionary writers—and the modern scholars that study them—display diverse emphases that reflect their own orientations to liturgical practice. For example, Racha Kirakosian and Andrew Albin have drawn attention to the sensory accounts of sound, especially liturgical music, in visionary writings.²⁹ Jeffrey Hamburger's groundbreaking work laid the foundation for studies of visual culture and its place in visionary literature, and Kirakosian has recently turned her attention to liturgical textiles.³⁰ Liturgy's multimedia character offers multiple avenues for sensory engagement.

Liturgical experience in the Middle Ages was not uniform, and this fact influenced visionary texts. Caroline Emmelius has demonstrated very different forms of liturgical reception in the writings of two visionaries who both lived in the convent of Helfta. Mechthild of Magdeburg, who only entered the convent late in life, recounted visions of liturgical celebrations, but these were not strictly located in or triggered by real-life liturgical participation. In contrast, the visions of Helfta chantress Mechthild of Hackeborn not only occurred during liturgical performance but in fact offered exegetical interpretations of the chant texts being sung. Despite the fact that they lived, at least temporarily, in the same community, these two women's different forms of engagement with liturgical practice in their daily lives influenced their differing engagements with liturgy in their visions.³¹

I have argued elsewhere that the Dominican sister books interpreted the liturgical chants they cited and presented these interpretations in ways that assumed the reader's intimate familiarity with the liturgy. The narratives presuppose knowledge not just of the Latin text of liturgical chant but also

its use context in particular liturgical celebrations and even the ritual gestures that accompanied its performance.³² As the appreciation of liturgical references in medieval mystical and visionary literature becomes more nuanced, detailed knowledge of liturgical practice in increasingly local contexts correspondingly gains in importance. The manuals that religious women used to coordinate their liturgical rituals, such as the Dominican *ordinaria* and *directoria*, describe the normative framework within which visionary accounts were composed and received. Bringing such manuals to bear on interpretations of medieval mysticism can enrich scholarly understanding of the multisensory environments in which visionary literature was written and read.

Liturgy as a Sphere of Creative Activity

Religious women engaged creatively with liturgy more directly than merely as an inspiration for devotion and visionary writing. Scholars have highlighted the many ways in which medieval women contributed to the practice of the liturgy, from the production of liturgical textiles to the composition of new chants. At first glance, making liturgical textiles conforms to preconceptions of embroidery as women's work. In the context of the prohibition against women touching the altar, however, Fiona Griffiths has argued that embroidering priestly vestments and altar cloths gave women a way of indirectly "touching" the mass that was otherwise forbidden to them.³³ Women also contributed to liturgical performance—including the mass—by composing chants tailored to the needs of their communities. The creative polymath Hildegard of Bingen has long been recognized for the music she composed both for regular liturgical observances and for her drama, the *Ordo virtutum*.³⁴

Although it is rare to find a name attached to liturgical compositions, many more medieval religious women composed chants, even if only in the form of *contrafacta*, that is, new or altered texts set to preexisting melodies.³⁵ Margot Fassler has presented compelling evidence that German Dominican sisters composed their own sequences (a genre of chant for mass) and even an entire office (a set of chants for the prayer hours) for John the Baptist.³⁶ Such activity likely was not limited to German-speaking areas. Paula Cardoso identified an office for the Feast of the Immaculate

Conception transmitted in only two manuscripts, both of which belonged to Portuguese Dominican convents. As Cardoso explains, the existence of this office in Dominican women's manuscripts is remarkable, first, because the feast was theologically rejected by the Dominican order and, second, because a different office was used to celebrate the feast in the surrounding region.³⁷ Even when we cannot securely attach individual names or communities to unique chants and unusual texts, religious women were certainly engaged in tailoring their liturgical corpora to their local needs. Anne Bagnall Yardley goes so far as to include the ability to compose new chants as an indispensable skill for a competent chantress.³⁸

In contrast to the poor record for musical compositions, scholars have confidently identified named religious women as the scribes and artists who produced liturgical books. Women's activity as manuscript illuminators gained popular attention in 2019 when public media reported the archaeological discovery of lapis lazuli embedded in the teeth of female skeletal remains.³⁹ Lapis lazuli was an expensive blue pigment used in manuscript painting. Researchers suggest that particles lodged in the female artist's teeth when she licked her brush. This was not news to medieval historians, who have long known of religious women's prolific work producing manuscripts.⁴⁰ German Dominican sisters demonstrably produced liturgical manuscripts not only for themselves but also for the friars.⁴¹ Many scribes recorded their own names at the end of their works, making it possible to identify individual women as the copyists of specific sets of manuscripts.⁴² Art historical studies have also identified named illuminators among the southern German Dominican sisters, prominently including Barbara Gewichtmacherin (St. Katherine in Nuremberg), Magdalena Kremerin (St. John the Baptist in Kirchheim unter Teck), and Elsbeth Töpplin (St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg im Breisgau).⁴³ Anne Winston-Allen's prodigious work, especially on the productive Clarissan artist Sibylla of Bondorf, has proven that religious women not only illuminated their manuscripts but also collaborated with each other in their production, sometimes between convents and even between orders.⁴⁴

The most fascinating set of illuminated books produced by German Dominican women is the collection of liturgical manuscripts from the northern German convent of Paradies near Soest.⁴⁵ Nestled within the intricate penwork illuminations are tiny letters and miniscule speech scrolls.

These marginal texts are not original compositions but rather citations, usually from scriptural or patristic sources, that witness to an intense engagement with and a deep understanding of the Latin texts. This engagement bore fruit in exegetical modes of thought that are developed through the juxtaposition of these marginal citations with the liturgical texts that fill the center of the pages. Furthermore, this practice of textual commentary embedded in illumination was cultivated as a community tradition, which sister illuminators a century later tried to replicate in honor of their foremothers.

Liturgical performance offered medieval religious women numerous ways in which to contribute creatively, whether through the production of liturgical textiles and liturgical books or the composition of new texts and chants. The directoria produced by southern German Dominican sisters also reveal unique variations in choreography and performance practice, highlighting ritual action itself as a field of creative activity. Furthermore, sacristans' manuals, such as the one surviving from St. Katherine in Nuremberg, provide detailed instructions for deploying the community's unique textiles and art objects for specific liturgical feasts. In cases where they survive, such manuals can refine our understanding of religious women's artistic production by supplying the use contexts in which women's work was experienced.

Liturgy and the Debate over Latin Literacy

The evidence for highly advanced Latin literacy found in the liturgical books from Paradies near Soest is by no means common. In fact, quite the opposite assumption still prevails, especially in the popular imagination, namely, that medieval religious women had an extremely poor command of Latin and many could not read in any language at all. Among scholars, the older all-or-nothing approach to medieval women's latinity has long since given way to more nuanced analyses that account for regional and personal differences and that distinguish degrees and forms of literacy.⁴⁶ I address the issue of Latin literacy at length here so that the later chapters can focus on the high degree of administrative expertise attested by these documents, without the distracting discussion about their German language.

These bilingual manuals contain guidelines and ritual instructions in German, but the chant incipits are uniformly and with only one exception given in Latin. The directorium from the convent of Engelthal records that the community sang the widespread German-language song *Christ ist erstanden* at the office hour of matins on Easter. Of all the manuscripts examined in this study, that is the only reference to a German-language song.⁴⁷ The bilingual character of these texts raises a set of questions that have appeared frequently in scholarship on medieval religious women. If the Dominican sisters needed liturgical guidelines in the vernacular, does that indicate poor command of Latin? Conversely, if the Dominican sisters understood enough Latin to perform the liturgy properly, why did they write their liturgical manuals in German? I argue that the way in which these questions frame Latin competence in relation to German is incommensurate with today's understanding of second-language acquisition, pedagogy, and the variety of linguistic skill sets. Approaching medieval literacy with the tools and standards of today's language pedagogy both permits a more nuanced understanding of the various medieval practices of Latin education and forces us to confront the limitations of historical evidence.

There are very few texts composed in Latin by southern German religious women of any order at the end of the Middle Ages.⁴⁸ This was not a universal state of affairs and should not be taken for granted. As Eva Schlotheuber has shown, in the fifteenth century many northern German convents cultivated an intellectual milieu that valued both writing and speaking in Latin, and they provided their sisters with the opportunity and the pressure to learn.⁴⁹ No such pressures or motivations existed for the southern German sisters, so they wrote their texts in German. In fact, what evidence we do have for women knowing Latin in southern German regions often comes in the form of major translation initiatives intended to serve consorors who could not read the Latin texts in the convent library. Important translators include Sister Regula in the Cistercian convent of Lichtenthal and Elisabeth Kempf in the Dominican convent of Unterlinden, as well as the translation project overseen by Caritas Pirckheimer in the Nuremberg Clarissan convent.⁵⁰ The absence of newly written Latin literature does not point to cultural decline; there was a glut of religious literature available in the regional vernaculars of the German-speaking south. Scholars have proposed an inverse relationship: Once a sizeable body

of devotional literature had been produced in the vernacular, one could have a rich spiritual life without learning Latin and the motivation to learn it was thus greatly reduced.⁵¹ Since vernacular devotional literature proliferated in southern Germany, religious women no longer understood any Latin because they did not need to. Or so the argument goes.

However, translations into the vernacular could be (and some demonstrably were) used as tools for learning Latin rather than as replacements that obviated the need for the Latin original.⁵² Schlotheuber highlights one young nun's rapturous expression of the delight that came with understanding the liturgy in contrast with the immense tedium of performing the liturgy without comprehension. "Oh, what a delight it is to hear or read the sacred readings in the divine liturgy, the words of the holy gospel from the mouth of the Lord, the words of the holy teachers of both the Old and New Testaments.... And conversely, what a great tedium it is to stand in the choir, to read, to sing, and not to understand. [O quales deliciae sunt audire vel legere in divino cultu sacras lectiones, verba sancti ewangelii ex ore domini, verba sanctorum doctorum tam veteris testamenti quam novi.... E converso magnum tedium est stare in choro, legere, cantare et non intelligere.]"⁵³ Approaches that focus on the devotional literature kept in the convent library or owned privately by religious women overlook the liturgy as a place in which women routinely encountered Latin texts and the degree to which the desire to understand the liturgy could itself be a motivator to learn.

Research on medieval women's Latin literacy is hampered by the fact that the act of reading a text while grasping its meaning does not necessarily leave material traces that can be recovered and analyzed by modern scholars. Original textual composition in Latin therefore remains the gold standard for proving religious women's Latin competency, simply because it is the most obviously reliable indicator. Yet, as Hamburger and Schlotheuber argue, demanding proof of Latin competency in the form of original compositions in Latin, even if only correspondence, rather misses the point, since first and foremost, medieval religious women needed to know enough Latin to perform the liturgy.⁵⁴ This was, after all, their job. Education in the Middle Ages prepared men and women alike for professional careers. University scholars certainly enjoyed better mastery of Latin than people in most other walks of life, but Latin-illiterate

shopkeepers likely had a better literacy in accountancy than the average university master.⁵⁵ The profession that religious women were trained in was the liturgy, and their education was oriented toward this career.⁵⁶ Correct and complete performance did not require writing treatises in Latin, but it did require engaging with Latin texts in specific, task-oriented ways.

To conceptualize the place of Latin competence in women's religious communities, David Bell proposes an analytical framework involving four degrees of Latin literacy, with particular attention to the liturgical demands of convent life.⁵⁷ For him, basic literacy was essentially phonetic, the ability to pronounce the letters on a page without needing to understand the words. This enabled a person to "perform" the liturgy in the strict sense that one could produce the proper sounds and, for some religious writers, this was all that was required to please God.⁵⁸ Bell's second degree of literacy entailed a general grasp of the gist of a text, without necessarily being able to parse the grammar and syntax. This fine-grained grasp of a text's grammatical structure pertained to the third level of literacy, in which nonliturgical texts and less commonly encountered liturgical texts could be understood. The fourth, and highest, degree of literacy was the ability to compose an original text. Bell argues that most religious women would have been amply served by "level two" Latin literacy, especially when the Latin liturgical texts were supplemented by vernacular translations that supplied the general sense.

Working from Bell's four levels, Anne Bagnall Yardley outlines four levels of musical literacy also adapted specifically to the context of medieval liturgical performance. The most basic level included the ability to sing common chants from memory, while the second level added some basic familiarity with notation, as well as the organization of manuscripts and the ability to use them as a memory crutch. The third level of musical-liturgical literacy represented the ability to sight-read diastematic notation, to explain or teach music theory, and to compose plainchant (that is, single-voice melodies), while the fourth, and highest, level was reserved for the ability to sing and compose polyphony (music for more than one voice).⁵⁹ Both Bell and Yardley offer ways of getting past the all-or-nothing approach to literacy by working out a scale that begins with knowing just enough to avoid being disruptive and culminates in the creation of sophisticated new content, acknowledging that certain individuals within

any community, male or female, would never have made it past basic competence.

There is much to recommend Bell's and Yardley's systems, but their elegant simplicity obscures important aspects of language learning. The learning progressions that Bell and Yardley offer do reflect aspects of medieval pedagogical practice. For example, Yardley's definition of the foundation of musical-liturgical literacy as memorization conforms to what Busse Berger has demonstrated concerning the role of memorization in medieval compositional practice.⁶⁰ However, both of these systems collapse different skill sets into a single hierarchy, which leaves little room for different skill levels within a single activity, let alone for high degrees of competence in one skill paired with total neglect of another.

Communication in different media requires different skills, and language learners do not advance in all areas at the same speed. Current assessment systems developed for teaching foreign languages take this phenomenon into account. For example, the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) organizes its learning and assessment system by skills, further subdivided by medium. Its broad categories are Reception, Production, and Interaction, each of which can be either oral or written (listening comprehension and reading comprehension; oral production in a monologue and written production in essay form; oral interaction in conversations and written interaction in correspondence).⁶¹ Within the Common European Framework of Reference, listening comprehension and reading comprehension are conceptualized as more closely related to each other than listening comprehension is to speaking production. Similarly, the ability to hold a conversation is considered a different skill from giving a speech. Language learners may attain a high degree of competence in reading comprehension, while their written production lags, and they may be completely incapable of asking for directions on the street.

The CEFR guidelines codify the insight that learning a language entails an array of very different skill sets that develop to differing degrees. This insight has repercussions for the way in which historians can interpret surviving evidence of medieval women's Latin literacy. Evidence of competence in one skill area does not automatically imply competence in a second area. Conversely, lack of evidence for one skill does not indicate deficiency in all skills. The existence or nonexistence of original Latin

textual composition from religious women's houses cannot reliably indicate how many women understood liturgical Latin and to what degree because written production and written reception are different skills.

Furthermore, these different skills require different pedagogical strategies for their development. Evidence of various pedagogical practices survives from some fifteenth-century communities of religious women and, indeed, the form of the attested pedagogy corresponds to the form of attested Latin competence. The rich survival of Latin-language texts composed by northern German religious women in the fifteenth century is partnered with accounts of language pedagogy that support and encourage linguistic production. Schlotheuber points to a pedagogical practice decreed by the northern German Bursfelde congregation in order to foster Latin oral competence among the reformed nuns. The sisters were expected to speak Latin among themselves and with their male spiritual advisers. To support learners, the communities developed a practice that recognized their limitations, while challenging them to grow.

It is to be observed as a rule, that the sisters who are nuns or will become nuns should speak Latin and not the vernacular among themselves and with the religious fathers. Otherwise, they are to be punished as if they were breakers of silence. But the unformed ones and those who have less Latin instruction, so that they might more quickly become accustomed to speaking Latin, when they want to say something that they do not know how to express in Latin, they should always first say the phrase "with Jesus's permission," then say in the vernacular what they do not know how to express in Latin, then repeat in Latin what they do know, until they have become perfectly accustomed to speaking in Latin.

Observandum regulariter, quod sorores monache aut monachande latine loqui inter se et cum patribus religiosis debent et non vulgariter, alioquin ut fractores silentii sunt puniende. Rudes autem et in latinitate minus instructe seu institute, ut tanto citius latina [!] loqui assuescant, cum id loqui voluerint, quod latine exprimere nequeant, hoc semper proverbium cuilibet orationi "cum Iesu licencia" semper premittant et sic exprimant vulgariter, quod

exprimere latine nequierunt, et rursum repetentes latinum, ubi sciunt, donec perfecte latino [!] loqui assuescant.⁶²

This procedure encourages learning by compelling the sisters to attempt to use Latin even if they do not have all the tools. Expressing the thought in German permits their interlocutor to assist them with their grammar or vocabulary during their attempt to formulate it in Latin, but it is clear that the learners are expected to try the Latin themselves and not simply to rely on the expert speaker. This pedagogical practice is designed specifically to foster oral interaction in the target language.

In contrast, the Latin pedagogical methods used in the Dominican convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg were very much focused on reading, especially accuracy in reading aloud. The prioress ensured that postulants learned the psalter before entering the convent, but until they learned enough to sing the liturgy with the choir sisters, novices simply recited the *Pater noster* as the lay sisters did.⁶³ The novices were not thrown directly into the full cycle of liturgical performance. Rather, the community divided liturgical tasks into various levels of difficulty, taught the novices gradually, and assigned them mentors: “At first, so that they can read well, they learn to recite their prayer hours properly. After that, they learn to sing, at first to sing the versicles and the *Venite*, then two antiphoners all the way through, then the missal and the sequences, and whatever one is required to sing by the [Dominican] order. [Am ersten lerend sy, dz sy wol kunind lesen, ir tagzit ordilich sprechen, darnach lernend sy singen, zum ersten versicel vnd die *Venite* singen, darnach 2 antiffoner gantz vs, darnach dz messbüch vnd sequensen vnd wz man denn von orden singen sol.]”⁶⁴ Prioritizing enunciation above all else, the community required novices to recite the Latin liturgical texts properly in a speaking voice before introducing the melodies of the chant. These melodies were also divided by difficulty, and the novices learned the shorter and less ornate genres (e.g., versicles) before working their way through the rest of the order’s chant repertory.

Similarly, novices were gradually integrated into liturgical performance itself. Once they knew enough to follow along in a prayer book, they were expected to attend the liturgical hours but not to sing.

And once they have gotten to a point where they can follow the community, they allow them to come to choir and sometimes to sing the versicles at none or compline, until they have learned them better. Afterwards, if they have the talent for it, they have them sing at the other office hours as well, but for an entire year they do not have them sing anything during the mass, except for the introit and *Kyrie eleison*.... Item, the sister who teaches the novices to sing and read shows them what matins for that night will be. And then the novices read it together in pairs, following along in the back of the choir where one sings, and they help each other. And when they do not know a word, they ask a sister who is not going to choir out of frailty.

Vnd wenn sy also darin sind kumen, dz sy dem convent volgen mugend, so lassend sy sy zů cor gon vnd zů ziten zů der non oder complet versickel singen, bis sy es bas lernend. Darnach, sind sy geschickt darzů, so lasend sy sy zů den andren tagziten och singen, suss so lassend sy sy dz gantz iar nuntz in der mesz singen, denn dz officium vnd *Kyrie eleyson*.... Item die swöster, die die nouitzen singen vnd lesen lert, die wist in, wz die metti dieselben nacht ist. Vnd darnach überlesend ye zwo nouitzen mitainandren in der absiten des cors mit, da man singt, vnd sechend ainandren vf. Vnd wo sy ain wort nit kunnend, fragend sy ain swöster, die etwa nit zů cor gat blödikat halben.⁶⁵

Novices were first assigned to sing a versicle, the first chant genre they learned, at the little hours of none or compline, which did not vary much over the course of the year. During the office hour of matins, which involved musically challenging chants and a great deal of variation day-to-day, novices continued to focus on the text, sitting off to the side and learning through partner work with the assistance of an experienced mentor. As they gained greater experience and familiarity with the community's practice, the new sisters took on additional roles corresponding to their acquired skills and knowledge.

The pedagogical practice outlined in the letters from the southern German convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg was radically different in

both design and outcome from the northern German practice of the Bursfelde congregation. It was, however, no less sophisticated. This account sets forth a refined pedagogical program that distinguished and separately trained different skills (reading text versus singing melodies), as well as accommodating levels of difficulty within each skill, reinforcing schoolroom education with practical experience, and fostering learning through collaboration with other learners. No part of this description ever addressed the ability to produce statements in Latin, whether orally or in writing. This skill did not form part of the program. Did the northern German nuns of the Bursfelde congregation have “better” Latin than the Dominican sisters in Nuremberg? Certainly, the northern German education program included a broader array of skill sets than the skill sets described for Nuremberg.⁶⁶ However, the Dominican sisters cannot be judged to have failed at something they were not trying to do. Judging the linguistic abilities of the northern and southern German sisters against one another is like comparing the outcomes of summer-abroad immersion programs with intensive “German for reading” courses: apples and oranges.

Moreover, neither of the programs described above addressed one of the most important literacy skills that medieval religious women practiced and which was certainly cultivated in all these communities: writing; that is, scribal activity. For the Middle Ages, we must distinguish carefully between writing in the sense of original textual composition and writing in the sense of physically making marks on parchment or paper. As Jennifer Summit points out, employing a secretary to compose by dictation belonged to high social status, but it means that the person we today would think of as the “writer” often was not, taken literally, writing anything.⁶⁷ Wholly separate from textual composition, scribal competence constituted an additional category of literacy that, at the highest levels, would entail mastery of multiple forms of script and the ability to determine which script was appropriate for which kinds of texts.⁶⁸

Understanding a written document versus accurately and intelligibly reading it aloud, producing clean and legible handwriting versus formulating original content—these are different skills that sometimes develop in tandem, but not always. For this reason, relying on original written production to gauge the reading comprehension of historical persons has a significant limitation. Namely, reading activities do not always leave

material traces. The survival of original composed texts in Latin can reliably indicate that this person also understood the Latin she read and very likely lived in an environment that fostered the linguistic skills of both production and reception (writing and reading) for others, as well. However, lack of evidence for individual textual expression in Latin does not mean that the women of a given community could not understand the Latin they were required to enunciate in the liturgy. It is simply a lack of evidence.

In the southern German liturgical handbooks that I discuss in [Chapters 4](#) through [6](#), there are no counterexamples of highly Latinate female authors writing original treatises in their second language. German translations of the Latin Dominican ordinarium were widespread and clearly saw practical use, and the women composed the directoria in German, apparently confirming that southern German Dominican sisters had largely stopped using Latin by the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, these documents cannot be interpreted as conclusively proving that the women who created and used them were incapable of understanding liturgical Latin. While dialect slipped into Latin spellings (my favorite is the Augsburgism “brofidenteß” for “profitentes”),⁶⁹ errors in transcription that attest to grammatical incomprehension or an inability to resolve abbreviations are rare.

In fact, many of the technical terms used in Latin rubrics were seamlessly incorporated into the German texts in the same way that they are in liturgical scholarship written in English or German today. It did not even occur to me to remark upon the knowledge of Latin indicated by the phrase “a feast that is semiduplex [ein hochzit daz semiduplex ist]” until I encountered the absurd expression “a one-and-a-half-fold feast [ein anderhalpueltige hochgezit]” in a manuscript that was likely produced by overcompensating friars.⁷⁰ The southern German Dominican sisters may or may not have been able to read theological treatises in Latin, but their chantresses understood enough liturgical Latin to use professional jargon accurately. Their jobs did not require them to compose original textual expression in Latin and expecting this from them effaces the impressive degree of professional expertise they attained.

The Dominican Liturgy and the Manuals That Fixed It

The Dominican Rite was initially fixed in a set of codified liturgical books, but its ordinarium had two shortcomings that repeatedly needed to be fixed. On the one hand, the Dominican order's legislative body (the general chapter) sought to maintain tight control over the liturgy in its communities, but the changes it ratified were not always conscientiously recorded and they occasionally produced unforeseen internal contradictions. On the other hand, the Dominican order never issued a centralized ordinarium in a version for sisters, as they had with the Augustinian rule and the Dominican constitutions. As the later Middle Ages wore on, liturgical change affected all communities, but the Dominican order's gendered hierarchies and structures of governance affected men's and women's liturgies differently. An extraordinarily richly preserved set of late medieval sources from southern Germany records the work of liturgical experts in numerous Dominican communities. *Fixing the Liturgy* uncovers the efforts of the friars and sisters who grappled with the challenges of late medieval liturgy.

The structure of this book builds in two parallel ways, proceeding chronologically while also growing in specificity. [Chapters 1](#) and [2](#) introduce the structures of Dominican liturgy and governance as they were instituted in the thirteenth century. [Chapters 3](#) and [4](#) examine fourteenth- and fifteenth-century witnesses of the Dominican ordinarium in Latin and German to show how the Dominican liturgy changed over time. The manuscripts analyzed in [Chapters 5](#) and [6](#) were all produced in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. I show how the practices recorded in these manuscripts reflect the changing religious landscape at the close of the Middle Ages, especially the impact of the Observant reform.

In parallel, the chapters follow the order in which the manuals were layered both conceptually and in practice. The structures of the liturgy I describe in [Chapter 1](#) were shared by a number of secular churches and religious orders, of which the Dominicans were only one. [Chapter 2](#) then presents the mechanisms for governance and liturgical change that were unique to the Dominican order and begins to explore their long-term consequences. [Chapters 3](#) and [4](#) turn from an idealized uniform Dominican code to its particular manuscript witnesses, demonstrating the imperfect and contingent dissemination of a Dominican Rite that was supposed to be universal. [Chapters 5](#) and [6](#) analyze manuals that women produced as supplements to fix the Dominican ordinarium; Their contents assume that

the user also has access to an ordinarium and consults the manuals in tandem. Moreover, in large part, these manuals record and codify liturgical observances as they were practiced in the particular community that owned that specific manuscript. By structuring the book in this manner—proceeding in time while increasing in specificity—I reflect both the historical evolution of the Dominican liturgy and the relationships of these book types to each other as foundations and supplements.

In [Chapter 1](#), I introduce the basic framework of the Dominican Rite as it is laid out in the earliest ordinarium, confirmed by the Dominican order in 1256. The chapter provides a basic introduction to the medieval Dominican liturgy for readers without previous experience in this discipline. It describes the structures and performance of office and mass, and it introduces the aspects of liturgical planning that occupy the rest of the study, especially scheduling the cycles of Temporale and Sanctorale feasts. Finally, I illustrate how cantors and chantresses used the ordinarium's concise instructions to orchestrate a full liturgical event, with the feast of the Translation of Dominic (May 24) as an example.

Similarly, [Chapter 2](#) introduces the three documents of governance to which communities of the Dominican order were subject: the Augustinian rule, the Dominican constitutions, and the Dominican ordinarium. The friars' constitutions not only regulated daily life but also described the processes of the order's legislative body. The general chapter, as this legislature was called, was empowered to change the constitutions—and the liturgy. [Chapter 2](#) explains the legislative foundation for the liturgical change traced throughout the later chapters of this book.

After [Chapters 1](#) and [2](#) lay the liturgical and legislative groundwork, [Chapter 3](#) turns to the close studies of manuscript witnesses that occupy the remainder of the book. I trace liturgical change over time by examining two physical witnesses of the Dominican ordinarium, one thirteenth-century manuscript from the Würzburg friary and one fifteenth-century manuscript from the convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg. These manuscripts reveal that the coherence of the Dominican Rite was undermined over the two hundred years following its codification both by inexperienced legislation and by incomplete maintenance of manuscripts. Neither of the Latin-language ordinaria examined in [Chapter 3](#) handle the major issue facing Dominican sisters in coordinating their liturgy: the fact that they were forbidden from

performing many of its central rituals. [Chapter 4](#) turns to the German-language translations of the Dominican ordinarium to show how each translator changed the text in attempts to accommodate the circumstances of women's communities. However, the translators were all men, and many of their inadequate interventions reveal their lack of expertise in women's liturgy.

[Chapter 5](#) uncovers how Dominican sisters expertly fixed these issues by generating and disseminating manuals themselves: the German-language directoria. The earliest surviving directoria were produced and transmitted within the context of the Observance, a religious reform movement that exhorted a return to strict observance of the order's rule, constitutions, and ordinarium. Expert reforming chantresses fixed new guidelines in the directoria, specifically adapted to women's ritual practices and needs. At the end of the chapter, I turn to two surviving directoria from non-Observant convents, both produced in the early sixteenth century. These documents betray the efforts of Dominican sisters to avert the pressures of reform and protect their cherished local liturgies. Observant and non-Observant alike, the directoria witness to women's direct engagement with the challenges of liturgical change.

[Chapter 6](#) returns to the feast that closes [Chapter 1](#), the Translation of Dominic, to illustrate in vivid example how all of this worked in practice. Whereas [Chapter 1](#) presents this feast according to the generic rules laid out by the 1256 Dominican ordinarium, [Chapter 6](#) draws together the German-language manuals from the Dominican convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg in order to reconstruct how the sisters might have celebrated this feast in 1516. The rich specificity afforded by this convent's extant manuscripts highlights how complex Dominican liturgy had become, how much flexibility existed even for communities striving to adhere strictly to Dominican regulations, and how much expertise was required to reconcile competing obligations into a coherent performance.

This book opens a remarkable set of fourteenth-, fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century manuscripts to further research. One study cannot exhaust the informative potential of these documents, and I do not attempt to treat their contents comprehensively. Instead, I provide a new narrative of the medieval Dominican liturgy with a focus on the manuals that regulated the Dominican Rite, the ways in which these manuals interacted, and both the

mechanisms and the side effects of liturgical change. This book not only introduces the German-language manuals used by late medieval German Dominican sisters, it also explains the creeping change in the Dominican Rite that motivated both friars and sisters to fix their liturgical expertise in writing, in hopes of fixing the increasingly complex system that was their liturgy.

CHAPTER 1

The Complex Layers of the Dominican Liturgical System

The Translation of Dominic, 1256

In the Middle Ages, the calendars used by most Christians began with January 1 ([Figure 1](#)), as calendars in the Christian West still do today. Yet, when scribes and administrators put together books for the liturgy, they started with music for Advent. This season began on the Sunday four weeks before Christmas (December 25), thus the beginning of their liturgical books lay about a month before the beginning of their calendars, complicating the reckoning of time.¹ Advent was an appropriate opening for the year, as it marked a time of expectation and preparation that climaxed with the annual arrival of Christ Incarnate on Christmas, the holiday celebrating his birth.² The rest of the church year followed the narrative of Christ's life, with special holidays for events as seemingly banal as his circumcision and the end of Mary's postpartum confinement.³ The year progressed through Christ's arrest and crucifixion, his resurrection, and his ascension into heaven. Each year repeated a narrative cycle, as medieval Christians retold and reexperienced Christ's life anew.

But another cycle of time encouraged pious Christians to retrace a portion of Christ's life much more frequently, as his arrest and crucifixion were mapped onto the hours of the day. As a widespread poem reminded the devout: "The wisdom of the Father, divine truth, Christ the man was arrested at the hour of matins. [Patris sapientia, veritas divina, Cristus homo captus est hora matutina.]"⁴ Matins was a time of liturgical prayer

that usually took place around midnight, marking the beginning of a new day and, for those who heeded this devotion, the daily beginning of Christ's sacrifice. Each of the liturgical hours was associated with another event in this central Christian narrative: "At prime, he was led to Pilate, ... 'Crucify!' they cried at terce, ... At sext, he was nailed to the cross, ... At none, the Lord Christ breathed his last, ... He was removed from the cross at vespers, ... At compline, he was given to the grave. [Hora prima ductus est ad pylatum, ... Crucifige clamant hora terciarum, ... Hora sexta est cruci conclavatus, ... Hora nona dominus Cristus exspiravit, ... De cruce deponitur hora vespertina, ... Hora completorii datur sepulture.]"⁵ Each of these time indicators designated a daily prayer service in medieval religious communities. Devotions such as this poem encouraged medieval religious, both men and women, to repeat the narrative of Christ's death in their hearts, as they sang through their communal prayers each day. The yearly cycle of holidays commemorating Christ's entire life was overlaid with a daily cycle of prayer hours eternally repeating the day Christ died.

These yearly and daily cycles of time represent only two of the numerous, overlapping ways in which medieval communities organized their ritual lives. Medieval liturgy was a dynamic and complex system with multiple cycles moving at different speeds, driven by competing conceptions of time.⁶ Its texts and music were keyed to the affective and theological message of Christ's life as it interlocked with the calendar of saints differently each year. The *ordinaria* and *directoria* examined in the later chapters of this book coordinated this system through regulations for the macro-level of the whole year as well as for the microlevel of each day. Even these documents required the hand of an expert to transform dry guidelines into vibrant, moving, and meaningful performance.

Fixing the Liturgy focuses on these manuals, *ordinaria* and *directoria*, which regulated and facilitated the practice of Dominican liturgy. This chapter sets up the rest of the book by explaining the liturgical actions that occupied Dominican communities each day. Existing introductions to the medieval Dominican Rite assume that readers have prior knowledge of medieval liturgy and therefore focus on explaining what makes the Dominican liturgy special.⁷ For this reason, they often do not address structures and practices that Dominicans shared with other rites, and they therefore make poor introductions for readers who have no prior experience

in medieval liturgy. This chapter avoids reproducing that situation and presents medieval Dominican liturgy for novices in this field. Supplementing the explanations provided here, a glossary of liturgical terms is found at the end of this volume. Readers who are familiar with the liturgical structures and practices of the medieval secular use may skip to [Chapter 2](#).

Two main liturgical structures were prevalent in the Middle Ages: the “monastic use” employed by Benedictine and Cistercian communities and the “secular use” of cathedrals and the papal court—that is, “secular” churches in the sense that they did not belong to a monastic order. All of the mendicant orders, including the Dominicans, followed a secular use, with variations particular to the order. Readers interested in Benedictine and Cistercian communities should be aware that many of the basic structures I explain here differ from the structures employed in the monastic use. In the interest of brevity, I do not discuss these differences.⁸

This chapter focuses on the liturgical structures that are necessary for understanding the discussions of the later chapters. It therefore does not provide a comprehensive overview of all medieval liturgy. Instead, it retains a tight focus on daily rituals—office, mass, and communal reading—as practiced in the Dominican order. The chapter concludes with a concrete example that applies the discussed principles to the liturgy for the Translation of Dominic (May 24), including the various books of music and readings that Dominican communities used to coordinate and perform their prayers.

In order to reconstruct Dominican liturgy in this chapter, I rely on the very source whose use and transformation throughout the later Middle Ages I discuss in the rest of the book: the Dominican ordinarium. I do not discuss the early evolution of the Dominican liturgy. Instead, I take the final codification of the uniform liturgy in 1256–59 as a departure point. In this way, this chapter provides a chronological base for the later discussions of liturgical change and adaptation. Appreciating the complexity of the Dominican liturgical system at this watershed moment provides the foundation for understanding the expertise that Dominican friars and sisters developed in liturgical coordination.

Defining “Liturgy”: Communal Ritual

The word *liturgy* itself is an anachronistic term not used in the Middle Ages. As Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton explain, it was more common in the Middle Ages to refer to distinct rituals, rather than discussing the liturgy collectively, but when texts do discuss ritual practice as a whole, the word *officium* is most common.⁹ The Dominican constitutions used the word *officium* for the order’s uniform rite, but even Dominicans were not consistent.¹⁰ The acts of the 1397 general chapter at Frankfurt used two terms in one passage:

First, concerning the worship of divine things [*divinorum cultui*], we want and ordain that the ordinances of the preceding chapter celebrated in Venice about the divine liturgy [*divinum officium*] should be observed precisely according to the constitutions and the rubrics. And any friars or lectors who are not presently teaching, and any students who are not focused on their studies should be written [in the duty roster] as other friars.

Imprimis divinorum cultui intendentes, volumus et ordinamus, quod ordinationes precedentis capituli Veneciis celebrati circa divinum officium, ut scilicet secundum constitutiones et rubricas precise observetur et singuli fratres et lectores actu non legentes et studentes suo studio non intendentes more aliorum fratrum notentur.¹¹

After 1400, the terms *cultus* and *officium* frequently appeared together in similar admonitions by the general chapter.¹² The members of the Dominican order evidently had a very specific thing they wanted all the friars to be doing, but they did not have a single term for it. Because there was no equivalent term during the Middle Ages, in historical research “liturgy” functions heuristically to define a scope of inquiry.

The term was long used to refer exclusively to celebration of the Eucharist at mass, the central rite of the Christian church. However, this ritual requires an ordained priest—historically, and in the Catholic Church still, a man. This restricted definition of liturgy excluded consideration of women and even most men from liturgical scholarship. In the past few decades, numerous scholars have argued that such narrow and exclusionary

definitions of “liturgy” hamper research on medieval ritual, prayer, and devotion, which were practiced in ways much more flexible than the categories developed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹³ In particular, the study of women’s religious communities demands a different formulation. Alison Altstatt, for example, inclusively defines liturgy as “structured acts of communal worship, canonical and non-canonical, that may or may not involve clergy,” in order to accommodate the fact that, in women’s communities, priests did not officiate at the prayer hours of the office.¹⁴

Reflecting the specific circumstances of the documents I analyze in this study, I define liturgy as *ritualized communal action regulated by a religious authority*. Framing liturgy as “ritualized communal action” permits me to include activities, the forms of which were centrally determined by the Dominican order but which were not worship-oriented in a strict sense. Such communal rituals include the daily chapter meetings and communal meals.¹⁵ I also count “occasional” rites, such as accepting novices into a community and holding elections for superiors.¹⁶ I understand “religious authority” in a broad sense both as authoritative texts (e.g., those codified in standardized books) and as persons in a hierarchical position. These persons included the order’s elected and appointed superiors, who governed regions called provinces, as well as the prior or prioress, who was the highest authority internal to a Dominican house.

By including the prioress as a religious authority and by including communal meals as a liturgical practice, I open the corpus of liturgical texts beyond the Latin-language chants and readings propagated centrally by the Dominican order to include also the German-language texts read aloud during the meals. These German-language table readings were not strictly regulated, but they were subject to the approval of the prioress, a religious authority, and they were framed in performance by a standardized communal ritual. My definition of liturgy thus expands well beyond the traditional definition of worship presided over by an ordained man to encompass daily ceremonies that may have been experienced as mundane, but which were nevertheless centrally prescribed by the Dominican Rite and sanctioned by officers of the order.

Because older definitions of liturgy excluded women and lay persons, the scope of “liturgy” has become an issue of feminist scholarship. It is

important to understand that a delimitation of what counts as “liturgical” is always a heuristic, and each scholar must adjust it to their own research goals. My definition of “liturgy” in this study is conditioned by my focus on a book type: the Dominican ordinarium, which regulated communal ritual. This focus excludes the many private devotional practices that were liturgical in nature, but for which the Dominican ordinarium did not contain instructions. In other research contexts, this definition would hamper investigation. For example, focusing on communal ritual precludes study of the breviary, which the Dominican order propagated for use during travel or other times when one could not join the whole community for the prayer hours of the office. In a study of Dominican manuscript standardization, one would need to define liturgy in a way that included the centrally regulated but privately used breviary.¹⁷ I do not claim that private devotions should not count as liturgy. My exclusion of private prayer in this study is a practical decision commensurate with my focus on Dominican liturgical governance and coordination using the ordinarium. I encourage readers embarking on liturgical scholarship to develop your own definition that suits your own approach and your own sources.

Three Types of Daily Ritual: Office, Mass, and Communal Reading

In a medieval religious community, most of the day was spent in three categories of communal ritual: the office, the mass, and times of communal reading. The term “office” designates the seven daily times of communal prayer and song. The celebration of “mass” provides the liturgical framework for the central Christian rite of the Eucharist—that is, the consecration of bread and wine as the sacrificial body and blood of Christ, usually performed communally once a day.¹⁸ Finally, in a religious community, there were two main times of communal reading. Meals and collation, at which table readings were read, were opened by prayers and blessings. At the chapter meeting, commemorations were announced for saints and for the deceased, and individual faults were confessed and punished.

The terms “office” and “mass” have flexible meanings. In general, they designate the activity of performing the rituals that belong to this category

(e.g., “every day the sisters sang the office” or “the friar said mass in their church”). In addition, both terms can also be used for particular sets of texts that adapt the liturgical activity to a specific commemorative purpose. For example, “the Office of St. Dominic” names the set of texts sung during the times of communal prayer to celebrate St. Dominic. Similarly, “the Mass of the Dead” describes the set of texts used during celebration of the mass to commemorate the deceased.

Every daily event (office, mass, chapter, meals) could and often did have special chants and texts that needed to be sung and read, depending on what day of the week it was, what type of day it was, and what season of the year it was. The order in which these rituals were conducted, how long they took, and how much free time remained varied tremendously depending on the liturgical season, whether it was a feast day (an important celebration) or a ferial day (a regular weekday), and how many daylight hours there were. The cantor or chantress coordinated all of these different concerns, determined what needed to be done, assigned and trained soloists for special roles, and prepared the whole community for the rest of the liturgy.

The “whole community” included all members with first-class status (the friars in a friary and the “choir sisters” in a convent).¹⁹ Some large and wealthy medieval religious communities had smaller “choirs” composed of a few talented singers responsible for musically demanding chants. I know of no evidence for smaller elite “choirs” among the Dominicans. In his discussion of the cantor’s duties, Humbert of Romans noted explicitly that “it pertains to him to provide, in consultation with the prior, each choir with friars who know how to read and sing, so that there is no marked imbalance [ad ipsum etiam pertinet sic providere cum consilio prioris utriusque choro de fratribus qui sciunt legere et cantare, quod non sit inaequalitas notabilis].”²⁰ The phrasing of this comment does not indicate that each half of the community had an elite choir that did all the complex singing. Instead, it suggests that the word *choir* included everybody except for lay brothers and lay sisters. Each half of the community needed strong singers to carry the weaker singers because everyone was expected to sing.

The office occupied the greatest amount of time, as it involved eight “hours” spread out over the course of the day: matins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and compline. Indeed, the term “office” (describing the general practice) is often used interchangeably with “the hours” because these individual prayer hours constitute the office as a whole. On ferial days (regular weekdays), Dominican communities were required to recite the Little Office of the Virgin to honor the Blessed Virgin Mary in addition to the day’s regular office hours, saying each hour of the Little Office before or after the main office hour.²¹

The primary activity of the hours was ritualized and communal recitation of the biblical psalms. Both in communal worship and at meals, the community divided into two halves, which sat in rows facing each other. The psalms were chanted in alternation between the two halves of the community (called the right choir and the left choir) alternating verse by verse.²² This communal scriptural prayer occupied the bulk of the so-called “little hours” (prime, terce, sext, none, and compline). The “major hours” (matins, lauds, and vespers) included a greater amount of extra material, both readings and chants.

Most of the names for the hours (specifically, prime, terce, sext, none, and vespers) derive from the ancient Roman method of timekeeping that counted hours from daylight and dusk. “Prime” thus designated the first hour (*prima hora*) after daybreak. In this method of timekeeping, there was no fixed clock time. As the amount of daylight changed over the course of the year, the “times” of the hours shifted with the sun. In the Middle Ages, the liturgical hours became detached from the timekeeping method that had given them their names. The daily rhythm of a religious community followed its own practical logic governed by the performance of the hours themselves. Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum provides an excellent explanation of this principle: “The beginning of the offices was linked not to a particular point in time but to a signal or short sequence of signals (“signa”). The duration of the offices was determined not by a set period of time but by the prescribed liturgical elements. The remaining segments of the day were, in temporal terms, either added on behind the offices or placed in whatever gaps remained. Temporal values were pragmatic values that were not defined. This has led to the problem that modern reconstructions of the monastic day can be no more than approximations. As for the duration of

the elements of the day, it is often overlooked that their timing was intrinsic to them.”²³ The hours of the office governed the daily rhythm of life in a medieval religious community but not because the day was broken up by prayers to be said at specific clock times. Rather, the rhythm of time itself was governed by the internal logic of the office hours.

The length of each hour varied, depending on how much liturgical material needed to be covered. The longest hour, matins, could last more than two hours, in our modern reckoning. Marie-Luise Ehrenschtendner estimated that Dominican sisters spent about eight modern clock hours every day performing the office.²⁴ However, the amount of time spent in the office varied significantly from day to day, depending on how important the feast was, how much material needed to be covered, how elaborate the chants were, and even what day of the week or what time of the year it was. The time spent in liturgical action grows if we include the other daily times of communal ritual, of which mass is symbolically the most significant.

Worshipping Together: The Mass

The mass constitutes the core ritual of Christian practice, as a formalized reenactment of the Last Supper at which Christ presented the disciples with bread and wine, representing the sacrifice of his body and blood.²⁵ In the Middle Ages, the ceremony of communion, in which the faithful receive and consume the bread and wine, was separate from the commemorative celebration of the mass during which the bread and wine were consecrated.²⁶ In the Dominican order, each community celebrated mass every day, but only the celebrant (the priest leading the ritual) consumed the consecrated Eucharist. Unordained members of the community received communion in a separate ritual on fifteen specified days in the year. (I discuss the fairly convoluted rules about this in [Chapter 2](#).) Even though they could not participate directly in the consecration, Dominican sisters celebrated the masses held in their communities by singing the majority of the musical chants for the ritual.

Daily celebration of mass created an organizational hurdle for Dominican women’s communities that was not problematic in the same way for the friars. Consecration of the Eucharist was a sacramental action, requiring an ordained priest.²⁷ By the high Middle Ages, many theologians

espoused the view that women were constitutionally inferior to men and should not be permitted to touch the consecrated Eucharist, nor even the altar, let alone be ordained as priests.²⁸ This meant that communities of religious women depended on ordained men to help them observe their obligatory daily mass.²⁹ Mass differed in this way from the prayer hours of the office, which did not entail sacraments and therefore did not require men. Women's communities could schedule the hours of the office as best fit their needs, but they would need to coordinate celebration of the mass with their confessor, their chaplain, or other local priests who may or may not have been Dominican friars.

Listening Together: The Chapter Meeting and Meals

The other two times of daily communal ritual, the chapter meeting and the communal meals, are often not included under the umbrella of "liturgy" by modern scholars. Nevertheless, these proceedings were an important part of ritualized communal life in a medieval religious house.³⁰ At chapter, a reader announced the date, listed which saints and deceased donors or community members should be commemorated, and read a passage either from the Gospels or from the order's constitutions.³¹ In the Dominican order, at certain intervals, the daily chapter meetings were followed by the chapter of faults, at which friars and sisters acknowledged their sins, mistakes, and shortcomings and received penance.³² Once a week, the assignments for the jobs that rotated weekly (liturgical and otherwise) were sung out either at chapter or at the end of the table readings over the communal meal.³³

The communal meals entailed not only the prayers and blessings said over the food and drink but also a "table reading" for the edification of the community.³⁴ This reading might be merely instructive or broadly spiritual, but it often pertained directly to the order's communal life. In his treatise on the duties of officeholders, Humbert of Romans recommended that not only the Augustinian rule be read at table but also the Dominican constitutions, the acts of the general chapter, other admonitions and letters, and finally liturgical instructions, if the cantor thinks the community needs a reminder about ritual gestures.³⁵ The table readings could be keyed to the day's liturgical content—for example, through passages from scripture that also

formed part of the office or mass, or through homilies explaining the theological significance of that day's liturgical texts.³⁶ In this way, both the chapter meeting and the meals became not only rituals themselves but also times at which liturgical organization and planning were conveyed to the community and, significantly, offered opportunities for reflection on the meaning of communal ritual.

Organizing Time: Hours of the Day and Seasons of the Year

To a certain extent, office, mass, and chapter/meals comprised three different classes of ritual action that each followed different rules of organization. Yet they all had to be accommodated in the daily schedule and coordinated with the community's calendar and with each other. There were no fixed times of day at which liturgical observances and other communal activities needed to be held. Mechanical clocks came into widespread use by the fifteenth century, but just because medieval people had mechanical clocks, we should not assume that they used them in the same way that we do today.³⁷ In Nuremberg and in some other German towns, the city clock rang the so-called *Garaus* at dawn and dusk, and then started from one in the following hour. When the sun set at six in the evening, the clock struck once at seven o'clock, twice at eight, and so on. As the seasons changed and the amount of daylight lengthened and shortened, the number of clock hours during daytime vacillated between eight and sixteen.³⁸ Even after communities were commonly using mechanized devices to keep time, the daily schedule was dependent on the sunlight hours. As these shifted between winter and summer, so did the times at which the community came together.

The Dominican order regulated a period of "summertime" beginning on Easter and a period of "wintertime" beginning on the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14).³⁹ In the summertime, two meals were eaten each day, one in the mid- or late morning and one in the early evening. Throughout wintertime and on Fridays in the summer, Dominican communities were required to observe a fast.⁴⁰ Only one full meal was eaten in the morning, and the evening repast consisted only of a beverage, broth, or small snack distributed in a practice called collation.⁴¹ Every day in the year required planning the hours of the office, at least one mass (sometimes more than

one), the chapter meeting (with or without the chapter of faults), and either two meals or a meal and a collation, all of which happened at different times and in a different order depending on how much daylight there was and whether it was a fast day.

A normal day began in the middle of the night with the longest of the canonical hours, matins ([Table 1](#)).⁴² However, on all major feasts from Trinity (the Sunday eight weeks after Easter) until the feast of St. Augustine (August 28), matins was sung on the previous evening after compline so that the community could sleep through the short summer night.⁴³ In the Dominican order, communities always celebrated lauds directly after matins.⁴⁴ Before the little hour of prime began around sunrise, the community was allowed to return to sleep or to spend the time in private prayer. Chapter was held either after lauds or after prime.⁴⁵ The rest of the day was punctuated by the remaining little hours: terce and sext in the morning, none in the afternoon.

Mass was scheduled flexibly but followed directly on one of the little hours (prime, terce, sext, or none). In the *Summa Theologiae*, Thomas Aquinas puts mass after terce on feast days, after sext on ferial days, and after none during a fast.⁴⁶ On some days of the year, it was obligatory to say more than one mass.⁴⁷ The timing of the main meal depended on whether it was a fast day: The meal was eaten in midmorning if a second meal was coming but postponed closer to midday on fast days when there was only a collation in the evening. In the summer, the community returned to the dormitory for free time or a nap (called *Nonschlaf* in German) after the meal and before none in the afternoon.⁴⁸ After none, the rest of the afternoon was devoted to study or communal work.⁴⁹

Vespers, the other major hour next to matins and lauds, was sung in the late afternoon. After vespers, the community had either a second meal or a collation during which there was another reading. The community then proceeded directly to the little hour of compline, the final liturgical hour of the day. In the Dominican order, compline concluded with a procession to the Marian chant *Salve regina*.⁵⁰ On ferial days, the community then took discipline; that is, they returned to the choir stalls (pews, in a sense), loosened their habits to bare the upper back, and sang the *Miserere* (psalm 50) while the hebdomadarian (weekly presider) circulated and struck each person with a rod. After some brief time for private contemplation (or the

following day's matins, as noted above), the community retired to the dormitory and to bed.

Table 1. The daily schedule in a medieval Dominican convent, according to one possible configuration in the summer.

<i>Approx. Time</i>	<i>Office</i>	<i>Mass</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Free Time</i>
Midnight	Matins			
	Lauds			
				Sleep
Dawn	Prime			
			Chapter Meeting	
Morning	Terce			
		Mass		
	Sext			
Late morning			Main meal with table reading	
				Free time (Sleep)
Early afternoon	None			
				Communal work
Late afternoon	Vespers			
			Light meal/collation with reading	
Evening	Compline		Salve procession and discipline	
				Sleep

Daily coordination of all three categories of communal ritual—mass, office, and the chapter meeting and meals—required high degrees of liturgical expertise and organizational sense. The time of day at which each practice occurred, the order in which each was done, and the degree of complexity and ceremonial gravity depended on the amount of daylight, the time of the year, and the importance of the day. What day it was, its devotional significance, and the selection of special rituals was determined by the calendar, which was composed of two superimposed annual cycles of feasts: the Temporale and the Sanctorale.

Cycles of Time, Cycles of Feeling: The Temporale

Coordinating the dates of the Temporale feasts and their corresponding seasons was never just about scheduling because the seasons of the

liturgical year were anchored to the narrative of Christ's life, lending the yearly cycle of time theological significance. The liturgical year began with Advent, the season presaging and preparing for the incarnation, celebrated as Christ's birth on Christmas. It proceeded through Epiphany (the visit of the Three Kings), Lent (the high penitential season), Holy Week (entry into Jerusalem and crucifixion), Easter (resurrection), Ascension (entry into heaven), and Pentecost (inspiration of the apostles). From the fourteenth century on, this yearly cycle ended with Corpus Christi, which celebrated Christ's continued presence on earth in the form of the Eucharist.⁵¹

The liturgical texts that belonged to the changing seasons explained the spiritual and theological significance of the events in Christ's life. Variations in ritual gesture and movement also changed over the year, producing an affective arc that corresponded with the narrative arc. Christians were expected to feel a certain way about each moment in Christ's life. Many scholars have shown the ways in which devotional reading worked to generate the appropriate affects in its readers.⁵² In a similar way, the ritual gestures and ceremonies performed during the liturgy also changed throughout the seasons of the Temporale cycle in order to assist the community in generating the appropriate emotions.

Performing Theological Meaning

Liturgical time is made up of cycles of different lengths: a day, a week, a year. The chants and rituals that rotated through these cycles generated a kaleidoscope of possible combinations as they moved at different speeds. Fundamentally, there are two types of liturgical day: feast days and ferial days. Sunday represents the archetypal feast day, days that are distinguished by their unique chants and readings at the major hours (vespers, matins, lauds) and at mass. At the most basic level, the liturgical year consists of a cycle of Sundays and feast days, each of which has its own "proper" (unique) chant material, which changes in accordance with its place in the narrative arc of Christ's life. ([Appendix 1](#) contains a full calendar of these feasts and Sundays.) Ferial days are regular weekdays (Monday through Saturday), which do not have proper chants. They thus are not keyed in the same way to the cycle of Christ's life, although certain elements adjust to the season.

Several different genres of chants and readings came together to fill out each day's worship. For the office, the most important of these genres were the psalms with their antiphons and the readings with their responsories. In the Dominican order, the hebdomadarian (weekly presider) sang the first word or two of the antiphon, then the community began the psalm (alternating verses) without finishing the rest of the antiphon. Psalms were usually followed by the *Gloria patri* before the community sang the antiphon in unison, this time in full, as a conclusion. The same psalms were sung throughout the year, but the antiphons paired with them changed by the season. For example, from Easter Monday up to Ascension, communities sang the antiphon *Surrexit Christus* (Christ has risen) at matins, thereby connecting the psalm recitation to the seasonal commemoration of Christ's resurrection.⁵³

The textual relationships between readings and responsories functioned similarly, although the performance differed. Readings were chanted by a soloist on a reciting tone. They were followed by responsories, so-called because their performance entailed a verse and a repetition. The cantor or chantress sang the opening word or phrase of the responsory and then the community joined in to sing the first part of the chant, called the *respond*. The second part of the chant consisted of a verse sung by a soloist. After the verse, the community repeated all or part of the respond (the portion to be repeated is called the *repetenda*).⁵⁴ The *Gloria patri* was sometimes sung as a second verse, after which the *repetenda* was repeated again.

The musical and textual form of a responsory meant that the verse colored the meaning of the *repetenda* so that the words rang differently the second time. For example, the responsory *Tulit ergo*, sung on Septuagesima Sunday at the beginning of the penitential period before Easter, recalled how God placed mankind in Eden so that humans would cultivate and care for the garden. The verse repeated this idea, but it closed with the phrase "whom He had made [quem formaverat]." When the *repetenda* picked up again at "so that [man] would cultivate and care for it [ut operaretur et custodiret illum]," it sounded as though God not only had placed humans in Eden but even had created them for this purpose.

Respond: So the Lord took mankind and put him into the paradise of pleasure, so that he would cultivate and care for it.

Verse: But the Lord God planted a paradise of pleasure from the beginning, in which he placed the man, whom he had made, *Repetenda:* so that he would cultivate and care for it.

Respond: Tulit ergo dominus hominem et posuit eum in paradiso voluptatis, ut operaretur et custodiret illum.

Verse: Plantaverat autem dominus deus paradysum voluptatis a principio in quo posuit hominem, quem formaverat,

Repetenda: ut operaretur et custodiret illum.

The performance pattern of responsories created multiple levels of meaning solely through their musical structure. Their cross-textual interpretive possibilities were compounded through their interaction with the readings they followed.⁵⁵

Generating Cycles of Performance: The Structure of Matins Nocturns

Each of these genres—psalms, antiphons, readings, responsories—cycled through textual options at different speeds, creating a kaleidoscope of possible combinations.⁵⁶ These shifting patterns had the greatest impact on matins, the most complex hour of the office, which thus lends itself best to explaining how these worked. The structural center of matins consisted of modular units called nocturns. Throughout most of the year, matins on Sundays and feast days had three nocturns, whereas matins on ferial days only had one. (This pattern was only valid for most of the year because it—like many weekly patterns—was altered during Paschal Time.)⁵⁷ Each nocturn itself had two halves: The first half consisted of psalms with antiphons and the second half consisted of lessons with responsories. The psalms and antiphons were distributed in rotation across the week, and this cycle repeated every week. In contrast, the cycle length for both lessons and responsories was one full year, but these were deployed in different combinations.

Table 2. The psalm groupings with antiphons for the matins nocturns on Sundays and on ferial days (weekdays). See [Appendix 2](#) for the specific psalms used each day.

<i>Sunday</i>	<i>Ferial Day</i>
Nocturn 1	The only nocturn

<i>Sunday</i>	<i>Ferial Day</i>
4 psalms	2 psalms
Antiphon 1	Antiphon 1
4 psalms	2 psalms
Antiphon 2	Antiphon 2
4 psalms	2 psalms
Antiphon 3	Antiphon 3
Nocturn 2	2 psalms
1 psalm	Antiphon 4
Antiphon 4	2 psalms
1 psalm	Antiphon 5
Antiphon 5	2 psalms
1 psalm	Antiphon 6
Antiphon 6	
Nocturn 3	
1 psalm	
Antiphon 7	
1 psalm	
Antiphon 8	
1 psalm	
Antiphon 9	

The psalm schedule of the Dominican order had evolved from earlier monastic practices, which strove to reconcile two competing principles: first, to recite psalms with fitting themes at the appropriate times of day and, second, to cover all 150 psalms over the course of the week.⁵⁸ To achieve both goals, the same psalms were sung at the little hours every day, while the major hours (matins, lauds, and vespers) had a different set for each day of the week. (See [Appendix 2](#) for a table outlining the full Dominican weekly psalm cycle.) The psalms and antiphons during the matins nocturns worked differently on Sundays than on ferial days (weekdays). (See [Table 2](#).) On Sundays (which had three nocturns), the first nocturn had twelve psalms grouped into three units of four psalms each; each grouping of psalms had its own antiphon, for a total of three antiphons. The second and third nocturns on Sundays each had only three psalms, and each of these psalms was followed by its own antiphon. On ferial days, the single nocturn had twelve psalms, as did the first nocturn on Sundays. However, unlike Sundays, these twelve psalms were grouped in six pairs, each with an antiphon. For the most part, the psalms with their antiphons rotated through the same cycle once a week every week, each weekday with

its own static set of psalms and antiphons such that, for example, on every Wednesday throughout the entire year, the same set of Wednesday psalms and antiphons was sung. The exceptions, as noted above, were the heightened seasons during which appropriate antiphons, like *Surrexit Christus*, were sung.

The second half of each nocturn had a more straightforward structure: Whereas the number of psalms and antiphons varied, each nocturn always had three lessons, each followed by its own responsory. (This structure differs somewhat in the monastic use; for example, in the Benedictine and Cistercian liturgies. I only describe secular use, to focus on the Dominicans.)⁵⁹ In contrast to the repeating weekly cycle of psalms and antiphons, the Dominican lectionary provided a different set of matins lessons for every day of the year, both Sundays and ferial days (Monday through Saturday). Many of these lessons were drawn from scripture, and the passages continued from one day to the next throughout the week.

As an illustrative example, on Septuagesima Sunday the matins lessons start with the biblical book Genesis 1:1, “In the beginning God created heaven and earth [In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram].”⁶⁰ The first six matins lessons on that Sunday made it through the whole of Genesis 1. (Sundays had nine lessons, but the last three lessons on a feast day were always drawn from patristic homilies and thus did not contribute to the scriptural reading cycle.) On the next day, the matins lessons picked up where they had left off: On Monday, the three lessons covered Genesis 2:1–14, on Tuesday, Genesis 2:15–25, and so on. Although it was not possible to make it through the entire Bible in a year, the Dominican order did fill the year with special readings assigned for every single day, including ferial days (weekdays).⁶¹ The weeklong psalm cycle and the yearlong lesson cycle thus generated different texts for Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and so on, with the psalm texts repeating once every week and the lessons only repeating once a year.

The responsories sung after the lessons also operated on a yearlong cycle. However, unlike the lessons that were provided for each day, only Sundays and feast days had proper (unique) responsories. In order to generate responsories for the rest of the week, the proper chants from Sunday were distributed over the ferial days. The three nocturns for Sunday matins were split up and sung twice in rotation on the ferial days of the

following week: nocturn 1 (responsories 1–3) on Monday, nocturn 2 (responsories 4–6) on Tuesday, nocturn 3 (responsories 7–9) on Wednesday, with the cycle repeated on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday.⁶² The aforementioned responsory *Tulit ergo*, for example, fell in the second nocturn on Septuagesima Sunday and was therefore repeated on Tuesday and Friday. In this manner, each week was marked by the Sunday's proper responsories, while also cycling through the psalms and antiphons in an independent weeklong rotation and working through scriptural lessons in an independent yearlong rotation with a different text every day.

Narrative Time and Performed Affect: The Temporale Seasons

The proper material with yearlong cycles (lessons and responsories) was the main mechanism by which the liturgy was keyed to the Temporale calendar's commemoration of Christ's life. The cycle of Sundays in the Temporale is organized into a single overarching theological narrative (Christ's life) composed of two emotional arcs that together govern the theological message, the affective character, and the institutional organization of the liturgical year. Christmas and Easter (commemorating Christ's birth and Christ's death and resurrection) provide the two theological foci, emotional pivots, and calendrical anchors around which the rest of the year is organized. The periods leading up to Christmas and Easter (Advent and Lent, respectively) are both marked by penance and the periods afterward by joy. The intervals that are not included in the seasons around Christmas and Easter are now called Ordinary Time. (This terminology is modern. In the Middle Ages, they were simply called the Sundays after the Octave of Epiphany—that is, the close of the Christmas season—and the Sundays after Trinity—that is, the close of the Easter season.) The Temporale cycle of the liturgical year consisted of one major narrative arc (Christ's life) composed of two shorter emotional arcs with climaxes at Christmas and Easter, respectively, and complemented by spans of “down time” with their own series of themes.

The divergent scheduling methods for Christmas and Easter created a complication regarding the distribution of lessons and responsories over the Sundays in Ordinary Time. Christmas is a “fixed feast,” meaning that it falls on the same date every year, December 25, regardless of the weekday.

The season of Advent covers the four Sundays before Christmas and, because these observances must be on Sundays, their dates can vary somewhat but not dramatically. The remainder of the season following Christmas likewise consists of fixed feasts. Epiphany, for example, is always January 6, and the season ends on its Octave, January 13. (The Octave is a secondary feast celebrated one week after a major feast in order to prolong its commemoration. It took place on the eighth day, hence the term “Octave.” Octave can also refer to the duration of the intervening week in phrases such as “during” or “within the octave.”⁶³ I capitalize Octave when referring to the day and use lower case octave when referring to the week.)

Advent and Christmastide thus are fairly stable seasons of the liturgical year. Easter and the seasons attached to Easter, however, are not. As with Advent, Easter must always fall on a Sunday, but, unlike Advent Sundays, Easter is scheduled with reference to the lunar cycle.⁶⁴ Because the complete lunar cycle is approximately a month long, the possible dates for Easter cover a similar range: Easter may fall as early as March 22 and as late as April 25.⁶⁵ The seasons attached to Easter all move accordingly. The penitential season began with Septuagesima, which was always the Sunday nine weeks before Easter, no matter when Easter fell.⁶⁶ The Dominican ordinarium named Trinity Sunday (eight weeks after Easter) as the official end of Paschal Time (the season following Easter). Although Trinity Sunday remained the formal end of Paschal Time, the season of moveable feasts following Easter was extended in the fourteenth century by the addition of Corpus Christi on the Thursday after Trinity.

Seasonal Affective Orders

The seasons of the Temporale also governed variations in the chants, readings, and rituals for office and mass. Both the Christmas cycle and the Easter cycle began with penitential periods (Advent and Lent) and continued with periods of joy (Christmastide and Paschal Time), and in each of these seasons certain texts, melodies, or ritual gestures were added or omitted in order to support the affective character of the season.⁶⁷ Some common features of the seasonal changes included the omission or inclusion of the *Te Deum laudamus* (We praise you, God) at matins and the

Alleluia during mass, as well as the shifting text of the verse for the responsory at the little hour of prime, *Jesu Christe, fili dei vivi, miserere nobis* (Jesus Christ, son of the living God, have mercy on us). In the following, I outline the seasons and mention some of these changes in order to impart something of the structure of the year according to the Temporale and the way in which standard features of the liturgy—even aside from proper Sunday material!—changed to reflect the movement through the yearly arc textually and emotionally.

The first arc of the Temporale centered on Christmas, the celebration of Christ's birth. Advent, the penitential season of expectation, always began on the Sunday closest to the Feast of St. Andrew (November 30), and from this point until Christmas the hymn *Te Deum laudamus* was omitted from matins in order to remove a fundamentally joyful element from the liturgy.⁶⁸ At prime, the responsory *Jesu Christe* was sung with the verse *Qui venturus es in mundum* (you who will come into the world), reminding the community each day of the expectant nature of the season.⁶⁹ Starting on Christmas, the community resumed the *Te Deum* at matins, reinstating its joyful words of praise. The verse for *Jesu Christe* was changed to *Qui natus es de virgine Maria* (you who were born of the Virgin Mary) and sung with alleluias, thereby supplementing the reason for the season with a further celebratory element.⁷⁰

On Epiphany (January 6), when the visit of the Three Kings is celebrated, the *Jesu Christe* verse was changed to *Qui apparuisti hodie* (you who appeared today), which is appropriate for Epiphany's theme of the revelation of God incarnate.⁷¹ This verse was used throughout the octave of Epiphany; that is, from January 6 through the following week until the Octave of Epiphany on January 13. After the Octave of Epiphany, the first period of Ordinary Time began. At prime, the responsory *Jesu Christe* was sung with the generic verse *Qui sedes ad dexteram patris* (you who sit at the right hand of the Father).⁷² This represented the end of the Temporale seasons attached to Christmas and the resumption of the default liturgies of Ordinary Time. In the penitential and expectant season of Advent, certain joyful elements of the liturgy were suppressed, to return in the celebratory period after Christmas, and the *Jesu Christe* verse changed frequently in accordance with the theological emphases of each subperiod.

The Easter portion of the Temporale followed a similar trajectory, opening with a penitential season, but this season was much longer than Advent and was further subdivided by additional liturgical changes that successively intensified the season's penitential character. Beginning on Septuagesima, the ninth Sunday before Easter, *Te Deum laudamus* was again omitted from matins, and at mass the *Alleluia* was replaced by a type of chant called a tract.⁷³ This already represents a more intense penitential shift than that of Advent, during which the *Alleluia* continued to be sung. Lent began on Ash Wednesday in the week before Quadragesima, the Sunday six weeks before Easter. From Ash Wednesday until Easter, the community was expected to kneel before the collects (prayers) said toward the beginning of mass, a ritual gesture of penitence.⁷⁴ Beginning on Passion Sunday (two weeks before Easter), the *Gloria patri* (Glory be to the Father) was dropped from the responsories and the invitatory.⁷⁵ Not only the omission of joyful chants but also the introduction of humble gestures fostered a penitential affect during Lent.

The progressive intensification of penitential ceremony culminated in the Triduum (three days); that is, the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday before Easter. During these three days, the church bells were not rung and instead the community was called together by beating a board. At other times of the year, this signal called the community to a member's deathbed, and it must have retained this mournful association. On Thursday, all of the altar cloths and ornaments were removed from the altars, which remained bare until Sunday. The readings at matins were taken from the Lamentations of Jeremiah and were sung to a different reciting tone than lessons during the rest of the year, which musically emphasized the exceptional character of the Triduum. On each of these three days, matins was observed with a bare minimum of psalms, lamentations, and responsories, which were sung in growing darkness while the sacristan progressively extinguished the candles in the church.⁷⁶ A truncated mass was celebrated on Friday, but the priest was not permitted to consecrate the Eucharist. Over the course of the nine weeks between Septuagesima and Easter, any positive or joyful elements of liturgical ceremony were successively stripped away, intensifying the penitential affect into the bare and unadorned darkness of the Triduum in the three days before Easter.

Easter brought an important turning point in the Temporale cycle, introducing the joyful season of Eastertide, also called Paschal Time, which lasted from Easter to Trinity Sunday, eight weeks later.⁷⁷ At this point, most of the joyful elements were restored, and many chants had the word *alleluia* added at their end. Beginning on the Octave of Easter, the responsory *Jesu Christe* at prime was sung with the verse *Qui surrexisti a mortuis* (you who rose from the dead).⁷⁸ Again, this verse reminded the community of the season and its theological significance. It continued to be sung until Ascension, the Thursday after the fourth Sunday following Easter. The feast of Ascension commemorates the ascension of Christ's resurrected body into heaven, and accordingly the *Jesu Christe* verse was changed to *Qui scandis super sidera* (you who rise above the stars).⁷⁹ The extra alleluias were dropped and all liturgical elements returned to their "default." For the Dominicans, the standard liturgical practices of Ordinary Time resumed on Trinity Sunday. The year always began with waiting for the Incarnation during Advent. It ended with a celebration of the triune Godhead at Trinity. After Corpus Christi was introduced in the fourteenth century, the extraordinary rituals of Paschal Time transitioned back into Ordinary Time through commemoration of Christ's continued presence made possible in the Eucharistic wonder of transubstantiation.⁸⁰

The Dominican Rite also entailed a major structural change to matins during Paschal Time, which affected the feast of the Translation of Dominic, as I discuss at the close of this chapter. Normally, Sunday matins had three nocturns. During Paschal Time, matins was reduced to one nocturn, no matter how important the feast. Furthermore, whereas the first nocturn on Sunday and the single nocturn on ferial days usually had twelve psalms, during Paschal Time this number was reduced to three. This reduction made it impossible to cover all 150 psalms in one week, as was usual, and instead it took an entire month. (See [Appendix 2](#).) Importantly, this rule abbreviating matins not only governed the Temporale but also affected the other type of feast, saints' feasts, such as the Translation of Dominic, which consequently had to be celebrated differently depending on whether they overlapped with Paschal Time.⁸¹

This overview of seasonal changes to the liturgy of the Temporale feasts is far from exhaustive and only represents a small sample of the ways in which the liturgy supported the overarching narrative of Christ's life and its

two emotional arcs. The changes to the verse of the responsory *Jesu Christe* are textually self-evident and easy to track, which is why I chose to highlight them. Other elements follow similar patterns; for example, the hymns sung during the hours also changed over the course of the year and, furthermore, even chants, whose texts did not change, sometimes had different melodies for each season. The seasons of the Tempore also governed times of fasting—that is, whether there was one meal or two per day and which foods were permissible at these meals. The penitential seasons of Advent and Septuagesima/Lent supported an appropriately muted or even mournful affect through certain ritual practices and the elimination of joyful chants like *Alleluia* and *Te Deum laudamus*. The celebratory seasons following Christmas and Easter emphasized the joyfulness of the period with extra alleluias and especially ornate melodies.

Liturgical planning undergirded each community's theological and devotional engagement with Christ's life. Coordinating the liturgy was therefore a "high stakes—low profile" activity, in that it would be unremarked if it went well but would disrupt the community's core function if it went poorly. Given the complexity of the seasons and the number of moving parts, each community needed liturgical experts to keep track of their affective cycles and devotional ritual. Planned properly, the seasonal practices of the Tempore provided a shifting baseline (or bass line, to use an appropriate musical metaphor) over which each community planned the other cycle of feasts—namely, those of the saints.

Saints, Devotion, and Community Identity: The Sanctorale

The second annual cycle of feasts operated in a very different manner and added a level of complexity to the task of liturgical coordination. The Sanctorale cycle consisted of feasts for saints, including the Virgin Mary, along with all the other martyrs, confessors, and holy virgins that each community celebrated. The Sanctorale generated two difficulties for liturgical coordination. First, because it consisted of an entire yearly cycle that was separate from and additional to the Tempore, it created potential scheduling conflicts with the Tempore cycle of Sundays and other feasts. Second, there was a great degree of permissible variety regarding which saints were included in each community's Sanctorale calendar, making

superregional standardization impossible, even within the same religious order.

The Sanctorale cycle was key to a community's self-conception or identity, since the local saints to whom the community was especially devoted or whose relics they possessed were integrated into this yearly round of celebrations.⁸² For the religious orders, these feasts included saints who were important to and celebrated throughout the entire order (such as Thomas Aquinas for the Dominicans), saints who were honored throughout the local diocese (such as Empress Kunigunde for the diocese of Bamberg), and saints particular to the community (such as Gertrude of Nivelles for the Dominican convent of St. Gertrude in Cologne). Because the constellation of saints varied from church to church and because the fixed dates for their feasts were fairly arbitrary, the Sanctorale did not have the coherence of the Temporale, nor did it have its narrative-emotional trajectory. It was, however, still an important tool for constructing a community's identity and shaping local forms of devotion.

Ordering the Saints: Calendar and Rank

The Sanctorale began with the feast of St. Andrew (November 30), thus aligning with the Temporale calendar's start at Advent. The feasts of this cycle are (almost) exclusively fixed feasts, which means that they are always celebrated on the same date: Andrew is always November 30, whatever day of the week that happens to be. The day of the week changes every year because the number of days in a year does not coincide with a precise number of weeks. This variability created scheduling problems. If a saint's feast happened to fall on a Sunday, it conflicted with the Temporale feast assigned to that Sunday. The precise nature of these scheduling conflicts was different every year.

To resolve such scheduling conflicts in advance, medieval calendars offered a shorthand method for determining what day of the week a specific date would fall on in a given year.⁸³ Beginning on January 1, every date of the year was assigned a letter A through G, the first seven letters of the alphabet. (In [Figure 1](#), you can see these letters in a repeated series running down the second column.) Whichever date happened to be a Sunday determined the "Dominical," or Sunday, letter.⁸⁴ Whereas now we observe

leap years by adding a date at the very end of February, in the Middle Ages leap years were observed by having February 24 (the Feast of St. Matthias) twice. Leap years accommodated the extra day by shifting the year's Dominical letter when February 24 was observed for the second time.⁸⁵

For example, in 1256, January 2 was Sunday.⁸⁶ As the second day of the year, this corresponds to the letter B. The Dominical letter started out as B, but 1256 was also a leap year. After February 24, the extra day pushed the Dominical letter back to A. Every date in the calendar with a B next to it was a Sunday until February 24, after which point every date with an A was a Sunday. It was important to be able to track Sundays because these were the main feasts of the Temporale, each with its proper observances. In 1256, every saint's feast on a date with a B (later, A) next to it created a scheduling conflict with a Sunday. Knowing this at the beginning of the year, the persons responsible for planning a community's liturgy could predict what scheduling conflicts would plague them that year and find solutions well in advance.

RP

Januarius habet dies .xxx. l. xxx.

.iiij.	A		Circumcisio dñi.	duplex.
.v.	b	.iiii.	Octā Stephani.	.iii. l.
.vi.	c	.iii.	Octā Joannis.	.iii. l.
.vii.	d	.ii.	Octā Innocentiū.	.iii. l.
.viii.	e	Non.	Epiphania dñi.	.totū dupl.
.ix.	f	.iiii.		
.x.	g	.iii.		
.xi.	A	.ii.		
.xii.	b	.i.	Pauli pmi heremite.	.q̄.
.xiii.	c	.iiii.		
.xiv.	d	.iii.		
.xv.	e	.ii.		
.xvi.	f	Idus.	Octā Epiphanie.	simplex. Hilarij & re- february. .iii. l.
.xvii.	g	.xix.	Felicijs p̄bi.	.iii. l.
.xviii.	A	.xviii.	Mauri abbatis.	.iii. l.
.xix.	b	.xvii.	Marcelli p̄re & m̄r.	.iii. l.
.xx.	c	.xvi.	Anthony albatis. Sol i aq̄i.	.totū duplex.
.xxi.	d	.xv.	Prisce v̄ginis & m̄r.	.iii. l.
.xxii.	e	.xiv.		
.xxiii.	f	.xiii.	Fabiani & sebastiani m̄r.	Simplex.
.xxiiii.	g	.xii.	Agnette v̄ginis & m̄r.	Totū duplex.
.xxv.	A	.xi.	Vincenci m̄ris.	.totū duplex.
.xxvi.	b	.x.	Emerenciane v̄gi. & m̄r.	.q̄.
.xxvii.	c	.ix.		
.xxviii.	d	.viii.	Concisio pauli.	.duplex.
.xxix.	e	.vii.		
.xxx.	f	.vi.	Juliani ep̄i & c̄f.	.q̄.
.xxxi.	g	.v.	Agnette secunde.	.totū duplex.
.xxxii.	A	.iiii.	Translatio s̄i Thome p̄is n̄ri.	.totū duplex.
.xxxiii.	b	.iii.		
.xxxiiii.	c	.ii.		

Hoc noctis .xxi. diei .viii.



Figure 1. Calendar page for January, collectarium from the Dominican convent of St. Agnes in Strasbourg, 1533. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. St. Peter perg. 78, f. 2r.

The method for resolving such scheduling conflicts depended on the importance of the saint's feast, which was designated by the feast's "rank." (In [Figure 1](#), each feast's rank is entered on the far right.) Different religious orders and different regional "uses," or practices, organized their hierarchies in varying ways.⁸⁷ The Dominican order recognized six ranks, which, ordered from least to most important, were *memoria* (technically, a commemoration and not a full-fledged feast), *trium lectionum* (of three lessons), *simplex*, *semiduplex*, *duplex*, and *totum duplex* (the latter four all entailed nine lessons at matins). *Memoriae* were easy to observe because all they required was an extra antiphon, versicle with response, and collect (prayer) tacked on to the end of vespers and lauds.⁸⁸ They could be observed in addition to a day's regular Temporale liturgy. In contrast, feasts of three lessons and greater included proper material that was supposed to be performed as part of the mass and office. They therefore normally replaced some or all of the Temporale material.⁸⁹ Feasts of three lessons or greater thus required scheduling and rescheduling.

The rank of a saint's feast determined its precedence in case of conflicts with Temporale feasts. There were several options for resolving a scheduling conflict: The saint's feast could be skipped for the year, downgraded to a *memoria*, or rescheduled to a free ferial day, depending on the rank of the saint's feast, the importance of the Sunday, and the season of the year. For just one example, the Dominican ordinarium instructs the following:

If a *simplex* feast or greater falls on a Sunday in Advent, or on Septuagesima or any other Sunday up to and including Passion Sunday, it should be transferred to Monday, except for the Feast of the Purification [February 2] which should not be transferred, and the Feast of Fabian and Sebastian [January 20] which should be celebrated on the preceding Saturday, and the Feast of St. Agnes [January 21] which should be transferred to the day after St. Vincent [January 22], should one of them fall on Septuagesima Sunday.

Si festum simplex vel majus in aliqua Dominica Adventus evenierit, vel in Dominica Septuagesimae et deinceps in aliqua Dominica usque ad Ramos exclusive, in secundam feriam transferatur, excepto festo Purificationis quod non transfertur, et festo Sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani, quod in praecedenti Sabbato celebrandum est, et festo Sanctae Agnetis, quod in crastinum Sancti Vincentii transferatur, si aliquod ipsorum in Dominica Septuagesimae evenierit.⁹⁰

This passage addresses the main issues of scheduling conflicts. It specifies the rules for certain ranks (simplex or greater feasts are rescheduled, feasts of three lessons are downgraded or skipped). It establishes that Sundays during the penitential seasons take precedence over all other feasts, except for the Marian Feast of the Purification, which is even more important than Sundays. It dictates explicitly to which day a rescheduled feast should be moved. Instructions of this kind take up more than three pages in the edited *ordinarium*.⁹¹

Even so, this lengthy explanation was insufficient to cover all cases, most fundamentally because many Dominican communities celebrated local saints that were not recognized throughout the order and were therefore not given consideration in the standardized instructions. For example, Empress Kunigunde's feast day was March 3, which guaranteed that it would fall within the penitential season, but because she was not celebrated outside of the Bamberg diocese, the Dominican order did not provide specific instructions for resolving Kunigunde's calendrical conflicts with Lenten Sundays. Dominicans in that diocese would have to consider Kunigunde's rank in the diocese and her importance to their community and then extrapolate from existing rules to make a decision. Even the basic administrative task of producing the yearly calendar required a series of judgment calls every year in order to integrate the *Temporale* cycle of Sundays and seasons with the *Sanctorale* cycle of fixed-date saints' feasts.

From the mid-fourteenth century on, the potential overlap between fixed feasts of the *Sanctorale* and the shifting yearly cycle of the *Temporale* was further complicated by two additional weekly observances. When the Dominican Rite was first codified in 1256, the order devoted the office hours every Saturday during Ordinary Time to the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁹² In 1352–54, the Dominican order expanded this practice to encompass all

Saturdays throughout the year, except during Lent.⁹³ Additionally and uniquely to the Dominican order, from 1364 on, every Tuesday entailed an office celebrated at the rank of three lessons for St. Dominic, again except during Lent because the season's penitential character suppressed joyful observances.⁹⁴ ([Chapter 2](#) explains the Dominican order's mechanisms for introducing such liturgical innovations.)

Like Sundays, the Tuesday and Saturday observances also had rules for resolving scheduling conflicts, depending on the rank of the conflicting saint's feast. After 1364, any given week likely had three days already occupied: Sunday by the Temporale, Saturday by the Virgin Mary, and Tuesday by St. Dominic. Because the fixed-date feasts of the Sanctorale fell on a different weekday every year, each saint's feast might or might not conflict with one of the three weekly observances. Although at first glance the Sanctorale with its fixed feasts on the same date every year seems more straightforward to schedule than the shifting Temporale feasts, the variety of potential conflicts with weekly observances that might or might not take precedence introduced significant complications for planning the yearly calendar.⁹⁵

Celebrating Saints: Ritual and Rank

In addition to governing the scheduling rules, the rank of the feast also determined the quantity of proper (unique) material, the elaborateness of the melodies, and the number of singers on certain chants. Saints' feasts of different ranks each had their own patterns of psalms and antiphons for the matins nocturns, which differed from the weekly distribution of the Temporale cycle, discussed above. Three lesson feasts only had one nocturn, and this one nocturn had nine psalms with only one antiphon. Feasts at the rank of simplex and higher had three nocturns, even if they were celebrated on a weekday. All three nocturns had the structure of Sunday nocturns 2 and 3; that is, three psalms each with its own antiphon. This final structure is exemplified in [Appendix 3](#) on the example of the Translation of Dominic. As noted above, during Paschal Time, all feasts—Temporale and Sanctorale alike—had only one nocturn at matins. The rank of a feast, in interaction with the season of the year, governed its internal liturgical structure.

In general, as the feasts increased in rank, the ceremonies increased in pomp. On low-rank feasts of three lessons, the invitatory (opening) of matins was sung by one singer alone and at mass the *Kyrie*, for example, was sung with a relatively simple melody. On feasts with the rank of simplex or greater, two singers sang the matins invitatory and the *Kyrie* melody was a bit longer and more complex. Duplex and totum duplex feasts had four singers for the matins invitatory, two singers for solo chants at the other hours, and yet more elaborate melodies for the chants at mass. Similarly, feasts of greater rank entailed more individual material. Only on totum duplex feasts (the highest rank) and on Saturdays for the Virgin Mary were Dominicans technically permitted to sing the elaborate musical genre of sequences before the Gospel reading at mass.⁹⁶

For an example from the office, the hour of vespers had a complex progressive organization. On feasts at the lower ranks of three lessons and simplex, the normal ferial day's psalms and antiphons were used; for semiduplex and duplex feasts, the ferial day's psalms were used, but they were sung with an antiphon proper to the feast; only on totum duplex feasts (the highest rank) did vespers have both special psalms that overrode the ferial cycle as well as a proper antiphon.⁹⁷ Feasts of greater rank could thus be easier to plan than three-lesson feasts because more material was proper (unique to the feast), whereas the liturgical material for a lower-rank feast might be cobbled together from several sources. The liturgy for a simplex feast might require some proper material, some common material (i.e., for all saints of a certain class), and some ferial (weekday) material to supply all the necessary readings and chants, not to mention the seasonal variations discussed in the previous section.⁹⁸ The rank of each saint's feast thus determined not only its rescheduling options but also the uniqueness and elaborateness of its liturgy in a system where low-rank feasts might paradoxically be more complex to plan precisely because they did not have as much unique material as feasts of greater rank.

Although the cycle of saints' feasts did not have the same coherence and narrative trajectory as the feasts of the Temporale, the Sanctorale with its particular constellation of saints was constitutive of a community's devotional profile. The saints they honored expressed various aspects of a community's identity by acknowledging their networks of belonging—to a religious order, to a local diocese, to a city—as well as individual saints

unique to their community. Although the Dominican liturgy was highly standardized, the order explicitly permitted communities to celebrate their patron saints and the anniversary of their church's dedication with totum duplex feasts, the highest rank with the most elaborate liturgy.⁹⁹ This modicum of flexibility to the standard Dominican Sanctorale meant that the rules for rescheduling propagated in the Dominican ordinarium could not be comprehensive for every affiliated community. Every year, the fixed-date saints' feasts conflicted in yet a new way with the Temporale feasts and with the Tuesday and Saturday observances for Dominic and the Blessed Virgin. Each cantor and chantress needed to make judgment calls based on their expertise in the order's regulations, as well as accounting for each saint's importance to that community's unique, local piety.

Coordinating Books, Choreographing Ritual: The Translation of Dominic, 1256

The feast of the Translation of St. Dominic (May 24) illustrates two of the planning difficulties discussed above: the liturgical variability governed by the Temporale and the patchwork coordination of a single feast's liturgy from several sources. The Translation of Dominic was particular to Dominicans and very important for the order, since it celebrated not only Dominic's holy life but also the formal recognition of his saintliness: The "translation" of a saint marked when his or her remains were relocated in order to facilitate veneration of that saint's relics. This event and, consequently, the feast that commemorated it had especially great significance in Dominic's case. When the Bologna friars relocated Dominic's tomb during a renovation in 1233, Dominic had not yet been canonized.¹⁰⁰ Allegedly, when Dominic's tomb was opened, instead of the stench of decay, an overwhelmingly pleasant scent of perfume wafted out. This odorous miracle played a role in the proceedings that culminated in Dominic's canonization in July 1234.¹⁰¹ This event, depicted in this book's cover image, was commemorated in the liturgy for the feast of the Translation of Dominic.¹⁰²

Because Dominic was the order's founder, this feast was celebrated as totum duplex, the highest rank, in all houses of the order. Yet, despite the fact that this was a highly ranked feast for the order's most important saint,

many of the texts and chants for the mass were not proper to this feast, but rather they were borrowed from others. Coordinating mass for the Translation of Dominic entailed piecing together material from a variety of different locations in a variety of different books. Likewise, since the Translation was an important *totum duplex* feast, its matins office hour enjoyed the maximum number of nocturns with proper chants and lessons. However, in its position at the end of May, the Translation of Dominic fell within the month of vacillation that might or might not be within Paschal Time (May 17 to June 20). Therefore, depending on whether Paschal Time was over by May 24, this maximum number of nocturns might be three or only one. The guidelines for this feast therefore had to provide options that would permit the cantor or chantress to integrate the liturgy for Dominic into the appropriate season of the *Temporale*—wherever that happened to be each year. The Feast of the Translation of Dominic provides a paradigmatic example of the work that went into planning a feast and the ways in which the rotating calendar might affect it.

Planning and Performance: The Standard Book Types of Medieval Dominican Liturgy

The instructions for office and mass on the Translation of Dominic were contained in the liturgical manual known in Dominican contexts as the *ordinarium*—the book at the center of this study. This manual specified what to change if the feast fell before or after the feast of the Ascension or after Trinity Sunday, when Paschal Time concluded. It listed the incipits (opening phrases) of the chants and prayers to be sung, but it did not contain the full texts or any musical notation. For reasons of economy and practicality, the full texts and music for performance were strewn through a variety of other books.

In the Middle Ages, materials were precious and producing comprehensive books was expensive. Furthermore, liturgical action involved several different persons stationed at several different parts of the church. It would have been impractical to carry a heavy book around to each person and prohibitively expensive to produce multiple complete copies to place in different locations in the worship space. For these reasons, medieval liturgical books are very practically designed to serve one

person at one station, containing only the texts and music needed by that person in that place.

Following this tradition, when the Dominican order codified its liturgy in the mid-thirteenth century (see [Chapter 2](#)), it propagated no fewer than fourteen standard book types, each of which was designed for a particular liturgical actor in a particular space, containing only what that person needed there.¹⁰³ For example, the book type called the *antiphoner* contained the music that was sung by the community during the office hours, including matins. However, the lessons read at matins were each recited by a single person from a lectern located in the middle of the choir (i.e., the location in the church where the community gathered), and these texts are thus found in a separate book, called a *lectionary*. Similarly, the book type called the *gradual* contained the music that was sung by the community during mass. However, the gospel passages were read by a deacon from a pulpit, and these texts are therefore found in a separate book, called an *evangelary*. Because the full liturgical performance involved many actors singing and reciting from different spaces in the church, several different books needed to be coordinated in order to orchestrate the office or the mass. This task has aptly been called “cumbersome.”¹⁰⁴ The book type called the *ordinarium* facilitated coordination of all these different books into a full communal ritual.

[Table 3](#) lists the fourteen standard books of the Dominican liturgy, organized by user and contents. These fourteen books do not represent all possible liturgical book types or even all the liturgical book types that were historically used by Dominicans. They are simply the fourteen book types that were codified by the Dominican order as part of its attempt to standardize the liturgy throughout all affiliated communities. I organize them in parallel to highlight the complementary book types for office and mass.

As noted above, the liturgy for the Translation of Dominic required different elements and even a different number of elements depending on when it fell in relation to the Temporale cycle and the shifting seasons after Easter. The patchwork nature of the mass for Dominic’s Translation exemplifies how to pull together all the texts and chants for a ritual without its own set of proper material. The office hour of matins was even more extensively influenced by the Temporale seasons than mass. If the feast fell

within Paschal Time, matins only had one nocturn with its three psalms, antiphons, lessons, and responsories; if it fell after Trinity Sunday (outside of Paschal Time), matins had three nocturns requiring triple the material. The ordinarium provided instructions for sourcing this additional material from Dominic’s main feast. These examples illustrate the expertise required to coordinate the texts and music for a single liturgical event out of multiple sections of multiple books, with attention to the intersection of the Temporale and Sanctorale cycles of feasts and seasons.

Borrowing as Interpretation and Physical Task: Mass for the Translation of Dominic

In principle, mass on the Translation of Dominic (May 24) was celebrated with the same liturgy as that on his primary feast (August 5).¹⁰⁵ However, the Temporale with its special observances for Paschal Time meant that some chants would usually (but not always) be seasonally different for Dominic’s two feasts. Coordinating Dominic’s mass was further complicated, since—despite the fact that he was the most important saint of the order—his mass did not have a full set of proper chants. Some of the material was borrowed from the common of a confessor (the generic material applicable to any saint of this class) and some even from the proper feast of another saint. The ordinarium gives the incipits (opening words) of the chants to be sung, but it does not indicate where each chant is found in which performance book. Using the ordinarium, the cantor or chantress coordinated mass based on the incipit of each element and expert familiarity with the community’s books.

Table 3. The fourteen books propagated as part of the Dominican liturgical exemplar in 1259. Books for office and mass that served parallel purposes are listed next to each other.

<i>Books for the Office</i>	<i>Books for the Mass</i>
<p><u>1. Antiphoner</u> The music sung by the community during the office</p> <p><u>3. Pulpitary</u> The music sung by a soloist from a pulpit placed in the middle of the choir</p> <p><u>4. Lectionary</u></p>	<p><u>2. Gradual</u> The music sung by the community during the mass (The pulpitary also contains the soloist verses for mass.)</p> <p><u>5. Epistolary</u></p>

Books for the Office

The lessons for matins, to be read by a series of lectors, each reciting one

7. Collectarium

The collects (prayers), capitula (short readings), and versicles (short chants) performed by the hebdomadarian (weekly presider) during the office

9. Ferial Psalter The 150 psalms together with the antiphons that were sung with them on ferial days (weekdays) by the community

10. Breviary

A “full” book of texts for the office but in an abbreviated version without music, designed for use by those who are not celebrating with the entire community

Books for the Mass

The selections from the New Testament epistles read usually by a subdeacon during mass

6. Evangeliary

The selections from the Gospels read usually by a deacon during mass

8. Conventual Missal

The texts said by the celebrant (the priest) at mass

11. Private Missal

A “full” book of texts for the mass but in an abbreviated version without music, designed for use by a priest who is not celebrating with the entire community

Books for Other Purposes

12. Martyrology

The texts to be read at chapter meetings by an assigned reader

13. Processional and Obsequial

The chants and prayers performed while in motion during processions or during burial rites, designed to be carried around during these mobile rituals

14. Ordinarium

The instructions for ritual actions, as well as for coordinating texts and chants from the other books

As outlined above, liturgical books were designed to serve certain roles performed in certain locations in the church. The main roles for the mass were (1) the community (whether friars or sisters) in the choir, (2) the community’s soloist at a pulpit in the center of the choir, (3) the celebrant (always a priest and therefore male) at the altar, and (4) the subdeacon and deacon (also ordained for altar service and therefore also male) positioned with the celebrant for the ritual and at a lectern for the reading. The prayers to be recited by the celebrant were contained in the missal, which might be held open by an altar server who followed the celebrant around. The epistle reading and the gospel reading, read by the subdeacon and deacon from two different lecterns, were found in the epistolary and the evangeliary,

respectively. The verses sung by the community's soloist were contained in the pulpitary, which was placed on a pulpit in the middle of the choir (that is, in the middle of the architectural space). Finally, the main book of chant, which contained the texts and music sung by the whole community, was called the *gradual*. It was placed where those who wished could access it, but it was expected that most of the community would sing from memory, following the cantor's or chantress's instruction.

The books designed for the celebrant and the deacons ([Table 4](#)) presented the texts that these participants read in a very straightforward manner. However, the chants for the community had to be assembled from several different sections of the gradual in something of a mad treasure hunt. The texts and music were not all proper to Dominic but, rather, were borrowed from a variety of other feasts. In fact, the gradual of the Dominican liturgical exemplar has no music at all for the Translation of Dominic, stating simply that it should be performed "as on the other feast [sicut in alio festo]."¹⁰⁶ Yet when one turns to Dominic's main feast, only one chant is given in full with its music (the *Alleluia* with the verse *Pie pater*) and the remainder are still only present as incipits without the full text and music.¹⁰⁷ The rest of the music for the community was scattered throughout the gradual under different feasts both in the Sanctorale and in the Temporale, as well as in the commons of saints section, and in generic collections at the beginning and end of the volume. To save on production costs, each chant was only copied in full once. Thus, for Dominic's mass, one must physically open the book in multiple locations. Borrowing the music for Dominic from another feast was not merely an abstract opportunity for dreaming up interpretive links. It was a physical task that created concrete connections from Dominic to a variety of other significant feasts.

Table 4. Mass for the Translation of Dominic. Elements sung by the community, and which in a convent were therefore performed by Dominican sisters, are in gray. The chants of the mass ordinary have # in the column to indicate that the text did not vary by feast.

<i>Mass element</i>	<i>Incipit for the Translation of Dominic</i>	<i>Source of the text</i>	<i>Liturgical actor</i>	<i>Liturgical book and location in book</i>
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<i>Mass element</i>	<i>Incipit for the Translation of Dominic</i>	<i>Source of the text</i>	<i>Liturgical actor</i>	<i>Liturgical book and location in book</i>
Officium (Introit)	<i>In medio ecclesiae</i>	John the Evangelist	Full community	Gradual (Proper of saints at John the Evangelist)
Kyrie eleison / Gloria in excelsis	#	Mass Ordinary	Full community	Gradual (Kyriale)
Collect	<i>Deus qui ecclesiam</i>	Dominic (August 5)	Celebrant	Missal (Proper of Saints at the Translation)
Epistle	2 Timothy 4:1–8	Dominic (August 5)	Subdeacon	Epistolary (Proper of Saints at Dominic's primary feast)
Alleluia	<i>v. Pie pater Dominice</i>	Dominic (August 5)	Full community; Soloist(s) for the verse	Gradual and Pulpitary (Proper of Saints at Dominic's primary feast)
EITHER Alleluia	<i>v. Christus resurgens</i>	Wednesday of Easter Week	Full community; Soloist(s) for the verse	Gradual and Pulpitary (Temporale)
OR Alleluia	<i>v. Ascendens Christus</i>	Ascension	Full community; Soloist(s) for the verse	Gradual and Pulpitary (Temporale)
OR Gradual (responsory), sung before 1st alleluia	<i>Os justi</i>	Common of a Confessor	Full community; Soloist(s) for the verse	Gradual and Pulpitary (Commons)
Sequence	<i>In caelesti hierarchia</i>	Dominic (August 5)	Full community; Soloists for the odd-numbered verses	Gradual (Sequentiary at Dominic's primary feast)
Gospel	Matthew 5:13–19	Dominic (August 5)	Deacon	Evangelary (Proper of Saints at Dominic's primary feast)
Offertory	<i>Desiderium</i>	Common of a Confessor	Full community	Gradual (Commons)
Secret	<i>Munera</i>	Dominic (August 5)	Celebrant	Missal (Proper of saints at the Translation)
Sanctus / Benedictus/ Agnus Dei	#	Mass Ordinary	Full community	Gradual (Kyriale)

<i>Mass element</i>	<i>Incipit for the Translation of Dominic</i>	<i>Source of the text</i>	<i>Liturgical actor</i>	<i>Liturgical book and location in book</i>
Communion antiphon	<i>Fidelis servus</i>	Common of a Confessor	Full community	Gradual (Commons)
Postcommunion prayer	<i>Concede</i>	Dominic (August 5)	Celebrant	Missal (Proper of saints at the Translation)
Ite missa est	#	Mass Ordinary	Celebrant	Gradual (Kyriale)

The first chant for mass with a changing text is the introit, which in Dominican liturgical jargon is called the *officium*. For the Translation of Dominic, this chant (*In medio ecclesiae*) was drawn from the feast of John the Evangelist (December 27) and needed to be found in the gradual under that feast.¹⁰⁸ Annette Volfing points out that this officium was used for feasts other than that of John the Evangelist, highlighting an account from the St. Katharinental sister book in which the celebrant forgot himself and read the collect for John rather than for the saint whose feast it actually was.¹⁰⁹ The fact that this officium (introit) was also used for the Translation of Dominic explains why, for the feast of John the Evangelist, the Dominican gradual provided optional alleluias for Paschal Time, which is otherwise nonsense for a feast two days after Christmas. The officium was sung with a *Gloria patri*, with the melody adapted to the officium's melodic mode; these melodic formulae were found at the very beginning of the gradual, but they were likely easily memorized.¹¹⁰

The next chant in the mass was the first of the so-called mass ordinary chants; that is, the “unchanging” texts of the mass (*Kyrie eleison*, *Gloria in excelsis*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, and *Ite missa est*) as opposed to the mass propers, which are different according to the feast. Even though the texts do not change, these chants were sung to different melodies depending on the rank of the feast, and some were not sung at all on lower-rank feasts.¹¹¹ These six chants were found in the so-called kyriale toward the end of the Dominican gradual, repeated several times with varying melodies.¹¹² The Translation of Dominic was a feast of the highest rank, totum duplex, so the melody for these chants was performed as the most elaborate option. The full texts and melodies of these first few chants of the

mass (the officium/introit with the *Gloria patri*, the *Kyrie*, and the *Gloria in excelsis*) were all found in the gradual, but in three different locations within that book, with the further complication that the officium *In medio* unintuitively had to be sought at the feast of John the Evangelist.

The elements of the mass between the epistle and the gospel readings were also sung by the whole community and also found in the gradual (with the solo verses duplicated in the pulpitary), but these elements changed depending on when the Translation of Dominic fell in relation to the Temporale seasons. For feasts outside of Paschal Time, the epistle reading at mass was followed by a gradual (a kind of responsorial chant, not to be confused with the liturgical book containing all of this), an *Alleluia* with a verse, and—on totum duplex feasts like the Translation of Dominic—a sequence (a strophic genre of chant for mass). When the Translation of Dominic fell outside of Paschal Time, the ordinarium instructed that the gradual chant *Os justi* be sung; this chant was drawn from the common of a confessor and found together with other generic saint material in the commons section at the end of the gradual book.¹¹³ After the gradual chant, the community sang an *Alleluia* with the verse *Pie pater Dominice*, the aforementioned one and only chant provided with notation under Dominic’s main feast.¹¹⁴ Finally, before the gospel reading, the community sang the sequence *In caelesti hierarchia*. This sequence was also proper only to Dominic, but it was not included under his feast because the sequences were all located together in a “sequentary” at the end of the gradual, after the commons of saints.¹¹⁵ Yet again, all three chants were found in the gradual but in three different parts of that book.

During Paschal Time, general changes were made to this portion of the mass. Gradual chants were omitted and instead a second *Alleluia* was sung. On the Translation of Dominic within Paschal Time, the first *Alleluia* was sung with Dominic’s verse, *Pie pater Dominice*. If the Translation of Dominic fell between Easter and Ascension, the second *Alleluia* used the verse *Christus resurgens*, borrowed from the Wednesday after Easter.¹¹⁶ If, however, the Translation of Dominic fell between Ascension and Trinity (the official end of Paschal Time), the second *Alleluia*’s verse was *Ascendens Christus*, proper to the feast of the Ascension.¹¹⁷ The changing verse of the second *Alleluia* tied mass for the Translation of Dominic into the theological arc of the Temporale and the seasons of the liturgical year.

Indeed, the connection to Easter and to the Ascension was created physically by the fact that one had to turn to that section in the Temporale portion of the gradual book in order to find the full text and music to be sung on the Translation of Dominic.

Despite the fact that the Translation of Dominic was a very important feast for the order, its mass was assembled from bits of Dominic's primary feast, from the common of a confessor, from the feast of John the Evangelist, and—depending on the season—from Easter Week or Ascension. This mix-and-match dynamic affected use of the gradual more than the other books for the mass: The pulpitory, the epistolary, and the evangeliary each contained only one element of the ceremony, and the missal with its three prayers did not have any musical notation.¹¹⁸ The approach to the gradual was an issue of economy. If each of these chants had been copied out in full for each feast on which they were sung, the book would have ballooned to unmanageable proportions and become prohibitively expensive to produce. This reasonable pursuit of economy, however, required that the cantor or chantress take the list of incipits, find all of the chants strewn throughout the gradual, and make sure that the choir knew what they were supposed to sing. It furthermore meant that the borrowing remained concretely present to the person or persons using the gradual. The connection between John the Evangelist and St. Dominic remained alive every time one physically turned the pages back to John's feast to find the music to sing for Dominic. Holding all of this together was the ordinarium, as it listed which chants one needed to seek.

Liturgical Actors and Liturgical Books: The Office for the Translation of Dominic

In contrast to the mix-and-match mass, the Office for the Translation of Dominic had much more of its own proper material, not borrowed from other feasts, but included a greater number of roles that regular community members could fill.¹¹⁹ Whereas the mass amply demonstrates how one liturgical ritual could be patched together from various texts, the office hour of matins better showcases the coordination of multiple liturgical books into a single performance.

Like the mass, the office hour of matins was also affected if the feast happened to fall outside of Paschal Time, determining how many matins nocturns with their psalms, antiphons, lessons, and responsories were observed. Furthermore, scheduling conflicts arose if the Translation of Dominic fell not only on the feast of the Ascension or (from the fourteenth century) on Corpus Christi but even if it fell one day before or after. The office for totum duplex feasts was celebrated with two vespers, one on the day before and one on the day of. If the Translation of Dominic fell on the day before Ascension, for example, then Dominic's second vespers conflicted with the first vespers of Ascension and a solution needed to be found. The ordinarium made explicit provision for this eventuality: Second vespers for the Translation of Dominic should be canceled and Dominic celebrated only with a memoria.¹²⁰ The ordinarium regulated which texts and chants were performed from which books and where, and it provided guidelines for reconciling the Translation of Dominic with the Temporale, wherever it fell. [Appendix 3](#) contains a full reconstruction of this feast's liturgy for all office hours outside of Paschal Time, with the folio numbers where each chant and reading is found in the Dominican liturgical exemplar: London, British Library, Add. ms. 23935. Here, I focus on matins as the most complex and therefore most illustrative of the office hours.

On the feast of the Translation of Dominic, matins began with a series of prayers said on every feast. These prayers were read from the collectarium, which was the hebdomadarian's (weekly presider's) book, but because the Translation of Dominic was a totum duplex feast, the prior or prioress led the prayers ([Table 5](#)). Then followed the first element proper to the feast, the invitatory (*Assunt*), intoned by four singers together who thereby set the pitch at which the full community sang the rest of the chant from the antiphoner.¹²¹ After the invitatory, the four soloists who had intoned that chant sang the introductory psalm *Venite exsultemus* (psalm 94), which was sung at matins every day.¹²² Since *Venite exsultemus* was sung by soloists, it was placed at the beginning of the pulpitary, the book that contained all the music and only the music for the solo singers.

The opening material for matins continued with a hymn for Dominic (*Novus athleta*), shared with his main feast. The hymn is also found in the antiphoner because it was sung by the community. However, none of the hymns were included with the rest of the music for their respective feasts

but rather were grouped together at the end of the antiphoner in a section called the hymnary. The structure of the antiphoner and its music for the office thus mirrors the structure of the mass's gradual, which likewise groups the sequences together at the end in a sequentiary. Even before the nocturn(s) had begun, no fewer than three books had come into play: The prior or prioress read from the collectarium, the soloists sang from the pulpitary, and the community sang from two different sections of the antiphoner.

The nocturns, which constituted the modular core of matins, entailed the use of two books in addition to those already introduced: the psalter and the lectionary. The psalms were sung from the psalter by the whole community, each with its own super-psalm antiphon from the antiphoner. In recognition of the feast's high rank, the antiphons were intoned by a senior member of the community before the psalm.¹²³ Before each lesson, the liturgical presider (hebdomadarian or prior/prioress) read a standard blessing from the collectarium. Each lesson was read by a different community member, who—like the soloists with their pulpitary—went to the lectern where the lectionary was placed in order to perform their assigned texts. The responsories that followed the lessons were sung by the community and were therefore in the antiphoner, although their solo verses were, like the other solo elements, also in the pulpitary for the convenience of the soloists. After the nocturn, the whole community sang the *Te Deum laudamus*, found at the end of the psalter,¹²⁴ and matins then continued directly into lauds.

Table 5. Structure of matins in Paschal Time for the Translation of Dominic. The symbol # indicates texts that were the same for all feasts.

<i>Genre</i>	<i>Incipit for the Translation of Dominic</i>	<i>Source of the text</i>	<i>Liturgical actor</i>	<i>Liturgical book</i>
Versicle and response	<i>Domine labia mea</i>	#	Presider and community	Collectarium
Versicle and response	<i>Deus in adjutorium</i>	#	Presider and community	Collectarium
Invitatory	<i>Assunt Dominici</i>	Dominic's main feast	Soloists and community	Antiphoner
Psalm 94 Hymn	<i>Venite exsultemus Novus athleta</i>	# Dominic's main feast	Soloists Community	Pulpitary Antiphoner (Hymnal)

<i>Genre</i>	<i>Incipit for the Translation of Dominic</i>	<i>Source of the text</i>	<i>Liturgical actor</i>	<i>Liturgical book</i>
Psalm 1	<i>Beatus vir</i>	Common of a confessor	Community	Psalter
Antiphon	<i>Praeco novus</i>	Dominic's main feast	Community	Antiphoner
Psalm 2	<i>Quare fremuerunt</i>	Common of a confessor	Community	Psalter
Antiphon	<i>Florem pudicitiae</i>	Dominic's main feast	Community	Antiphoner
Psalm 3	<i>Domine quid multiplicati</i>	Common of a confessor	Community	Psalter
Antiphon	<i>Documentis</i>	Dominic's main feast	Community	Antiphoner
Versicle and response	<i>Ora pro nobis, beate Dominice</i>	Common of a confessor	Presider and community	Antiphoner
Pater noster	<i>Pater noster</i>	#	Presider and community	
Request for Blessing	<i>Jube domne benedicere</i>	#	Reader	Lectionary
Blessing	<i>Benedictione perpetua</i>	#	Presider	Collectarium
Lesson	<i>Cum de sanctitate</i>	Translation	Reader	Lectionary
Responsory and verse	<i>Fulget decus</i>	Translation	Cantor/chantress, community, and soloist	Antiphoner
Request for Blessing	<i>Jube domne benedicere</i>	#	Reader	Lectionary
Blessing	<i>Unigenitus dei</i>	#	Presider	Collectarium
Lesson	<i>Quidam vir</i>	Translation	Reader	Lectionary
Responsory and verse	<i>Virgo pugil</i>	Translation	Cantor/chantress, community, and soloist	Antiphoner
Request for Blessing	<i>Jube domne benedicere</i>	#	Reader	Lectionary
Blessing	<i>Spiritus sancti</i>	#	Presider	Collectarium
Lesson	<i>In Siciliae partibus</i>	Translation	Reader	Lectionary
Responsory and verse	<i>In odoris</i>	Translation	Cantor/chantress, community, and soloist	Antiphoner
Hymn	<i>Te Deum laudamus</i>	#	Community	Psalter

The texts and melodies for matins on the Translation of Dominic were scattered throughout different sections of five different liturgical books, each of which was designed for a particular liturgical actor in a particular location of the choir. The collectarium contained the prayers and blessings said by the liturgical presider. The antiphoner contained the musical chants sung by the community, directed by the cantor/chantress and

succentor/subchantress. The pulpitary contained the verses for soloists and was placed on a pulpit for their access. Likewise, the lectionary sat on the lectern from which the lectors would read their assigned lessons. Finally, many friars and sisters owned their own psalters, which contained not only the psalms but also the song of praise, *Te Deum laudamus*. No single book contained the entirety of texts and music for the Translation of Dominic. This organization into multiple different books was designed to save parchment while facilitating the performance of the liturgy itself, without regard for the task of coordination. The ordinarium summarized the liturgy for each feast so that the correct texts could be selected from the various books.

Fixing Dominic to the Season: Matins Within and Outside of Paschal Time

As with the mass, the date of the Translation of Dominic (May 24) meant that two options were needed for matins. Usually this feast fell within Paschal Time and therefore only required one nocturn, but if Dominic's Translation fell after Trinity Sunday, it required the full complement of three nocturns and therefore triple the usual material. Helpfully, the Dominican lectionary does not require communities to mix and match the matins lessons, instead providing a full transcription of nine lessons for the Translation of Dominic after Paschal Time and a separate full transcription of three (entirely different) lessons for the feast when it falls within Paschal Time.¹²⁵ For the musical elements, the ordinarium prescribed the solution of borrowing material from Dominic's main feast (August 5), but this borrowing worked differently for the psalms and antiphons than it did for the responsories. The three psalms and antiphons used for the single nocturn during Paschal Time were the same ones used for the first nocturn (of three) on Dominic's main feast. Accordingly, the ordinarium instructed that, when the Translation of Dominic fell outside of Paschal Time, the antiphons and psalms should be the same as for the primary feast, directly borrowing the extra two nocturns' worth of material, since the first nocturn was already borrowed.

However, like the lessons, the three responsories for the feast of the Translation were unique and were not identical to any of those used for

Dominic's primary feast. The ordinarium instructed that, outside of Paschal Time, one should take the main feast's responsory cycle but replace the final responsory in each nocturn with one of the three that were proper to the Translation. The three Translation responsories became the third, sixth, and ninth, producing the following pattern—First Nocturn: 1, 2, T1; Second Nocturn: 4, 5, T2; Third Nocturn: 7, 8, T3.¹²⁶ What resulted was thus a hybrid matins that mostly resembled Dominic's primary feast but had totally independent lessons and incorporated the proper responsories for the feast of Dominic's Translation in prominent positions at the end of each nocturn. The instructions concerning the expanded version of matins for the feast of Dominic's Translation were not found in any of the performance books from which these chants were drawn. Only the ordinarium supplied guidance on selecting chants from different books and generating the longer matins office when needed.

Conclusion: A Book to Fix the Complexities of Medieval Liturgy

The liturgy for the feast of the Translation of Dominic illustrates several complexities of liturgical coordination that taxed the expertise of liturgical administrators. The mass for the Translation of Dominic had only one proper chant, the *Alleluia* with the verse *Pie pater Dominice*. The rest of the musical material was borrowed from other feasts or taken from the common of a confessor and was therefore scattered throughout the gradual. Although the office hour of matins was simpler to plan in that it mostly had its own material, the greater number of different liturgical actors entailed a greater number of books used during the ritual. Finally, both the changing *Alleluia* verses at mass and the variable length of matins in the office demonstrates how the vacillation of the Temporale calendar and the seasons surrounding Easter could affect the Sanctorale calendar and the feasts for the saints quite significantly from year to year. The ordinarium provided the basic script for pulling all the different persons and books together into a single, communal ritual act. All of these changes followed complex sets of rules, and coordinating the liturgy required an expertise bred from experience.

In medieval Dominican friaries and convents, each day entailed three classes of liturgy; that is, of ritualized communal action regulated by a religious authority. The office with its cycle of prayer hours determined most of the community's daily rhythm; the mass with its celebration (but not reception) of the Eucharist provided an important devotional focus; the chapter meeting and communal meals presented opportunities for readings reflecting on the community's ritual life. Each day's significance was determined first and foremost by where it fell within the yearly cycle of the Temporale, which followed the narrative of Christ's life and influenced both the theological import and the affective character of the liturgy. Because Easter was scheduled according to the lunar cycle, its date varied by up to a month. Consequently, the shifting periods of the Temporale calendar interacted differently each year with the saints' feasts of the Sanctorale, which were always on a fixed date. The saints' feasts with their different ranks and local emphases offered a mechanism for Dominicans to practice their own layered identities by celebrating the saints of their order, of their diocese, and of their individual community.

The texts and rituals for each feast were performed from a broad array of liturgical books, each of which was designed specifically for the use of a particular liturgical actor in a particular location. At mass, the celebrant used the missal, the subdeacon and deacon read from the epistolary and the evangeliary, and the community sang the music contained in the gradual. For the office, the prior/prioress or hebdomadarian prayed from the collectarium, the soloists sang from the pulpitary, the lectors read from the lectionary, and the community sang from the psalter and antiphoner. None of these books for performance contained the full text and music of any feast fully laid out in a straightforward manner.

Only one book contained the instructions for coordinating the yearly schedules, adapting the rituals to the season's affective character, and selecting the appropriate texts from all the different sources: the ordinarium. This was the book that served cantors and chantresses, the liturgical experts responsible for orchestrating their community's liturgy. Given its role as a reference manual for liturgical administrators, the ordinarium lent itself to a regulatory role. As the order's primary mechanism for governing and controlling the Dominican Rite, the ordinarium took on a legislative status within the order, next to the other foundational documents of governance: the Augustinian rule and the Dominican constitutions. The interrelationship of the ordinarium with the rule and the constitutions determined the paths by which the order introduced liturgical change.

CHAPTER 2

Liturgy, Legislation, and Institutionalized Gender Disparity

The Rule, the Constitutions, the Ordinarium

In his commentary on the Dominican constitutions, Humbert of Romans (d. 1277) noted that they suffered from a glaring omission. The constitutional article describing the office hour of compline made no mention of the procession in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which Dominicans customarily performed at the end of compline every day. Humbert explained that in the early days of the order, the procession was not done. The practice originated when a friar of the Bologna community became possessed by a demon. His brothers, desperate to save him, invoked the Virgin Mary's aid by singing the antiphon *Salve regina* for her after compline.¹ Even after this friar was successfully freed from his torment, the practice continued because of the friars' great devotion to it. Yet no one wrote it down. Humbert continues: "But as time wore on, to remove the annoyance, [instructions] about the other antiphons that sometimes should be said were put in order and written in the ordinarium, and at that time [instructions] concerning that procession, which previously had only been done out of custom, were first put in writing. It was not necessary to write anything in the constitutions about this, since it was written in the ordinarium. [Processu vero temporis ad tollendum fastidium fuit ordinatum et scriptum in *Ordinario* de aliis antiphonis interdum dicendis, et tunc primo fuit redactum in scripto de ista processione, quae solum ex usu fiebat ante. Nec oportuit aliquid scribi in *Constitutionibus* de hoc, ex quo fuit

scriptum in *Ordinario*.]”² Therefore, Humbert proclaimed, even though it is not mentioned in the constitutions, all Dominican friars forever (“in aeternum et sine intermissione”)³ are required to perform the *Salve regina* procession in honor of the Blessed Virgin.

Humbert’s account of the *Salve regina* after compline showcases the interaction of pious practice and liturgical development with the governing documents of the order. The procession originated as a response to a specific crisis—the demonic possession of a single friar in Bologna—but communities kept up the habit because everyone liked it. After the practice had become entrenched, some friars formally recorded it while fixing the order’s ordinarium, evidently annoyed by the discrepancy between the prescriptive norms and their actual practice. Once the procession had been fixed in writing in the ordinarium, it was no longer necessary to mention it when the constitutions were revised because these documents were complementary. The backstory of this procession provides an exemplary case of the dynamics discussed in this chapter: how Dominican governing documents fixed their customs in law and how these documents could be fixed to accommodate change over time.

Much of the liturgy described in [Chapter 1](#) represents general practice in churches of the Latin West (Central and Western Europe), especially with regard to the Temporale cycle of feasts pertaining to Christ’s life. The Sanctorale cycle offered a high degree of variability, and many aspects of that practice, such as the celebration of the Translation of Dominic, were specific to the Dominican order. In the medieval Latin Church, regional devotions and local saints were the rule—the city of Nuremberg commemorated St. Sebald like nowhere else—but the reform orders of the high Middle Ages attempted to overcome some of the regional variance by standardizing liturgical practice throughout every community belonging to the order. In this endeavor, the Dominicans were inspired by previous efforts, especially the Premonstratensians and the Cistercians.⁴ The resulting set of governing documents was uniquely Dominican. Indeed, observing these statutes constituted a sine qua non for membership in Dominic’s Order of Friars Preachers.

The medieval Dominican order had three foundational documents of institutional legislation: the Augustinian rule, the order’s constitutions, and the ordinarium. Each of these three governing documents contained

liturgical legislation. The Augustinian rule most fundamentally laid the basis for mandating liturgical uniformity. In addition to governance and punishment, the constitutions regulated many of the order's communal ritual practices, including both narrowly liturgical issues (e.g., prayers to recite before each office hour) as well as broader ones (e.g., table readings and collation). The ordinarium contained the most extensive and most detailed regulations, outlining the liturgical chants, readings, and rituals for feasts throughout the year. Liturgical practice and liturgical change were legislative issues. The liturgical regulations of the constitutions and ordinarium could be and frequently were adjusted by a democratic legislative process that the Dominicans had built into the friars' constitutions. However, they neglected to include this clause in the sisters' constitutions and to provide a women's version of the ordinarium. Lacking a mechanism for change, the sisters' constitutions remained frozen throughout the Middle Ages. In contrast, they were technically subject to the ever-evolving friars' ordinarium. Dominican sisters could thus keep pace with some liturgical (but not constitutional) change. All three governing documents of the Dominican sisters were dependent on those of the friars, but the different legal relationships of their constitutions to the friars' constitutions and their (nonexistent) ordinarium to the friars' ordinarium created liturgical problems that were increasingly exacerbated by continual liturgical legislation.

Previous scholarship has tended to rest with the initial development and dissemination of the Dominican constitutions, comparing the version for sisters to the version for friars on which it was based. This approach obscures the fact that, as the friars' constitutions changed, divergences from the sisters' version emerged where none had originally been intended. Similarly, the records of the general chapter's legislative action on the liturgy have often been used, for example, as a resource for dating manuscripts, but the holistic effect of ritual changes and added feasts on the Dominican liturgical system has rarely been considered. These processes provide the groundwork for understanding how the Dominican Rite changed over the course of the Middle Ages and how friars and sisters in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries strove to fix their liturgy.

Instituting Harmonious Unity: The Augustinian Rule

The Augustinian rule is a fairly vague text that provides more of an inspiration for harmonious cohabitation than it does formal religious institutions. In Paul van Geest's description, "Augustine's *Praeceptum* is based on the attempt to live a life of community of property, prayer, and careful and empathetic mutual relationships."⁵ Its vagueness is precisely what made it attractive to the new orders that emerged in the high Middle Ages, whose purpose was public preaching rather than prayer. Given the choices—one designed for a stable and enclosed monastic life of prayer (the Benedictine rule) and one designed for mobile communities who interacted regularly with the outside world (the Augustinian rule)—the latter is an obviously better fit for a group whose primary activities were public facing. Perhaps because of this foreseen itinerancy, the Augustinian rule has astoundingly little to say about the liturgy in comparison with the Benedictine rule's detailed discussion of prayer and psalmody.⁶ Nevertheless, the Dominicans took the Augustinian rule's liturgical stipulations very seriously, interpreting them as grounding the order's mandate for a uniform liturgy.

The Dominicans needed the Augustinian rule in the first place because the fledgling community's request for papal approval coincided with a conciliar decision limiting the options of newly founded religious groups.⁷ While the prelates of the Church were gathering in Rome for the beginning of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, Bishop Fulk of Toulouse and his protégé Dominic first approached Pope Innocent III for confirmation of a religious order for the group of preachers that Fulk had gathered in his diocese. The pope lightly rebuffed them, instructing them to come back once the nascent community had unanimously agreed on a rule that had previously been approved by the papal see. Dominic accordingly returned to his brethren, who swiftly settled on the rule of St. Augustine. In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council had also passed a mandate (canon 13) that all newly founded religious communities must accept not only a rule but also statutes that had previously been approved. Dominic returned, now to Pope Honorius III, with the Augustinian rule and a set of *consuetudines* (customs) heavily dependent on those of the Premonstratensians, which had received papal approval a century before, in 1126.⁸ In December 1216, the

pope approved the use of these documents for the community of preachers living at the church of St. Romans in Toulouse. Not until February 1218 did a papal document grant protection to an “Order of Preachers” with multiple communities, but this bull represented the expansion of a legal basis that had already been set.

Numerous versions of the Augustinian rule circulated in the Middle Ages, and the Dominican order employed slightly different versions for friars and sisters. The particular version of it used by Dominican friars is known as the *regula recepta* and consists primarily of the *praeceptum* (the text most likely attributable to Augustine) prefaced by the opening of the *ordo monasterii*, a shorter anonymous rule that circulated together with the *praeceptum* in the early Middle Ages.⁹ The hybrid *regula recepta* was a twelfth-century innovation and therefore fairly new.¹⁰ It is possible that it was the version to which Dominic had been subject as a canon in Osma, or the early friars might have assumed the *regula recepta* from the Premonstratensians when they took their *instituta* as a model for the Dominican *consuetudines*.¹¹ No evidence survives of any deliberation by the early friars around Dominic over the competing versions of the Augustinian rule. Even Jordan of Saxony’s history of the order’s origins treats the question very cursorily.¹²

There is likewise no early evidence for the decision to use a different version of the Augustinian rule for the sisters. A community of women associated with Dominic’s circle had already been gathered at Prouille in 1206, ten years before Dominic and Bishop Fulk petitioned for confirmation of an order. However, no evidence exists, one way or the other, as to whether the affiliated women also lived according to the Augustinian rule.¹³ Later sources for Dominican women’s communities contain the *regularis informatio*, a version of the *regula recepta* that was adapted for women by changing not only the gender of relevant nouns but also certain “functional variants” regarding, for example, hair coverings, bathing, and the impropriety of dirty jokes for widows.¹⁴ Despite the close similarity of the men’s and women’s versions of the Augustinian rule, Dominican manuscripts of Latin regular (rule-related) compendia from the late fifteenth century contain both the *regula recepta* (the male version) and the *regularis informatio* (the more strongly adapted female version).¹⁵ These omnibus manuscripts of Dominican institutional material clearly

differentiate between the two versions of the Augustinian rule and clearly expect that friars will follow the *regula recepta* and sisters will follow the *regularis informatio*.

As far as the practice of the liturgy is concerned, the Augustinian rule has little to offer and the differences between the *regula recepta* and the *regularis informatio* are immaterial. In contrast to the extensive instructions on psalmody provided in the Benedictine rule, the Augustinian rule's very short chapter on prayer does little more than protect the space of worship for that purpose. The women's version commands:

Be constant in prayer at the hours and times appointed. No one should do anything in the oratory other than that for which it is intended and from which it takes its name. If perchance some want to pray there even outside the appointed hours, if they are free, those who might wish to do something else there should not be an impediment to them. When you pray to God in psalms and hymns, consider in your heart what you offer with your voice. Do not sing anything other than what you read is to be sung. Moreover, whatever is not written that it should be sung, should not be sung.

Orationibus instate horis et temporibus constitutis. In oratorio nemo aliquid agat, nisi ad quod factum est, unde et nomen accepit, ut si alicue etiam preter horas constitutas, si eis vacat, orare voluerint, non eis sint impedimento, que ibi aliquid agere voluerint. Psalmis et ymnis cum oratis deum, hoc versetur in corde, quod profertur in voce. Et nolite cantare, nisi quod legitis esse cantandum. Quod autem non ita scriptum est, ut cantetur, non cantetur.¹⁶

The main points of this passage are in consonance with the rule's spirit, in that they focus more on maintaining harmonious group living conditions than on specifying certain practices. This text envisions a community that comes together at appointed times for group prayer, in which everyone is expected to participate. The final instructions about singing "what you read is to be sung" promote a unified and coordinated liturgical performance without stipulating in any detail what that should be.

If we take a broad view of the liturgy and include communal reading, as I advocated in [Chapter 1](#), then the rule's stipulation that it itself should be

read aloud to the community once a week forms the document's only specific liturgical instruction.¹⁷ Compliant observance of the Dominican constitutions was likewise facilitated by periodic public reading at the chapter meetings and/or as table reading.¹⁸ Reminded of the governing documents to which they were subject, communities (ideally) would not slide unknowingly into violation of their order's way of life. In order to facilitate this practice, the standardized Dominican martyrology (the liturgical book containing everything necessary for the daily chapter meeting) contained both the Augustinian rule and the Dominican constitutions. Indeed, the editions of the constitutions that are most commonly referenced by scholars were made not from regular compendia but rather from the martyrologies in Rome (Santa Sabina, XIV L 1) and London (British Library, Add. ms. 23935). These manuscripts contain the exemplars that codified the Dominican liturgical books.¹⁹ In this sense, the Augustinian rule and the Dominican constitutions not only set out basic liturgical regulations but were themselves performed liturgical texts.²⁰

The Augustinian rule thus enjoins a uniform communal liturgical practice, organized by written documents, but each community following this rule needed to supply these liturgical regulations separately. The Dominican order did just that, in the form of the constitutions and *ordinarium*. These other governing documents, however, were not understood as superseding the Augustinian rule's brief liturgical stipulations. Rather, they supplemented the rule, which remained the ultimate foundation of liturgical uniformity.

In his commentary on the Augustinian rule, Humbert of Romans explained the benefits that derived from observing the Augustinian rule as if it mandated order-wide liturgical uniformity. He emphasized, for example, the effectivity of combined efforts: "Since therefore, as the authority says, it is impossible that the prayers of many not be heard, whoever joins then in prayer may hope that, even if not on his own account then nevertheless on account of the multitude to whom he then joins himself in prayer, he must quickly be heard. [Cum ergo, sicut dicit auctoritas, impossibile sit multorum preces non exaudiri, sperare debet quicumque convenit tunc ad orandum, quod etsi non ratione sui, tamen ratione multitudinis tunc orantis cui se adjungit, debet citius exaudiri.]"²¹ It is therefore extremely important, Humbert commented, to have accurate and well-corrected liturgical books

in fulfillment of Augustine's commandment to sing only what one reads is to be sung. If the liturgical books are defective, then the liturgy will be defective, causing offensive disruptions.²²

Even with accurate liturgical books, "if this one wants to sing something other than what is written, and that one does the same, it creates divisions and disturbances in the liturgy [si iste vult cantare aliud quam sit scriptum et ille similiter, fiunt divisiones et turbationes in officio]."²³ Accurate and well cared-for liturgical books were even more important than theological texts.

Moreover, great care must be taken with regard to liturgical books, which must be corrected well and sufficiently legible. For through them, we are guided in those things which pertain to God: through scholastic [books], however, in those things which pertain to our neighbor, such as teaching and preaching and the like. But we should take greater care in those things that pertain to God than in those that pertain to our neighbor.

Porro circa libros ecclesiasticos bene correctos et bene legibiles habendos est magna diligentia habenda. Per ipsos enim dirigimur in ea quae pertinent ad Deum: per scholasticos vero in ea quae pertinent ad proximum, ut est docere, et praedicare, et hujusmodi. Magis vero curandum est nobis de hiis quae pertinent ad Deum, quam de hiis quae pertinent ad proximum.²⁴

Accurate liturgical books enabled the friars to properly honor God. Finally, in addition to the practical concerns of intercessory effectivity and communal harmony, Humbert proposed the individual benefit that observing the liturgy strictly as written helps one exercise the virtues of obedience and humility.²⁵ Humbert thus expanded the rule's vague injunction to sing only that which one reads is to be sung into a multi-layered moral exposition in favor of strict liturgical uniformity across all communities of the order.

Humbert of Romans's late thirteenth-century arguments enjoyed a long reception, as witnessed by a treatise of sorts that quotes Humbert's commentary on the Augustinian rule in order to underscore the seriousness of a rogue German faction's disregard for the order's mass melodies. This

text, composed in Nuremberg in 1421, survives as an appendix in two ordinarium manuscripts, which I discuss in [Chapter 3](#). The treatise closes with a series of liturgical issues that the Dominican order needed to resolve. The final problem in the list concerns the musical noncompliance of friars in the German-speaking provinces, which the author condemns by invoking the Augustinian rule.

Item, since the chant of the order in the prefaces, readings, and in all things notably is regulated to a great extent, and is more solemn, more simple, and more delightful than the chant of the seculars, as is recognized with certainty by intelligent people, it is an astonishing folly and an unseemly and quite reprehensible abuse, that many friars of the order reject and abandon the more solemn chant and sing the irregular and less solemn chant of the seculars, adopting it against the commandment of the rule, which says: “Do not sing anything other than what you read is to be sung.” In his exposition on the rule, Hugh of St. Victor says: “For it is not proper that ecclesiastical chant be done according to the will of diverse persons, rather it must be steadfastly preserved according to the writings and statutes of the great.” And on this Humbert says that “nothing other is to be sung, nor otherwise than as it is written.” So, since for the *Kyrie eleison*, *Gloria in excelsis*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus* of duplex and totum duplex feasts, the order has one and only one chant, with which many friars are dissatisfied, as plain experience teaches us, especially in the provinces of Teutonia and Saxonia, where on totum duplex feasts they sing a chant other than that which friars of the order are accustomed to sing, notwithstanding that the commandment of the rule forbids this: “Do not sing, etc.”

Item cum Ordinis cantus in prefacionibus, lectionibus atque aliis omnibus notabiliter magis regulatus sit, solempnior, facilius et iocundior cantu secularium, prout certissime constat apud intelligentes, mira vanitas et abusus indecens et viciosa satis [est] quod fratres plurimi Ordinis cantum utique solempniorem respuunt et relinquunt, et cantum secularium, minus solempnem et irregularem, canunt et assumunt contra regule mandatum dicentis:

“Et nolite cantare nisi quod legitis esse cantandum,” super quo verbo dicit Hugo de sancto Victore in expositione regule: “Non enim decet ut cantus ecclesiasticus fiat secundum arbitrium diversorum, sed firmiter servandus est secundum scripta et instituta maiorum;” et Humbertus super eodem dicit quod “non aliud neque aliter quam sicut scriptum est, sit cantandum;” item cum Ordo in festis duplicibus et totis duplicibus pro *Kyrie eleison*, *Gloria in excelsis*, *Sanctus* et *Agnus*, unum et eundem tantum habeat cantum de quo fratres plurimi contenti non sunt, sicut manifesta docet experientia, precipue in provincia theutonie et saxonie, ubi in totis duplicibus alium cantum quam Ordinis fratres solent decantare, non obstante quod regule mandatum hoc prohibeat: “et nolite cantare etc.”²⁶

Rather than adducing any legislation or governance specific to the Dominican order, this text frames singing a different melody as an infraction against the Augustinian rule. Even the authorities cited for additional support are commentaries on the Augustinian rule, including that of Humbert. Neither the Dominican constitutions nor the ordinarium, both of which supplied order-specific details, are ever mentioned. Despite the Augustinian rule’s apparent vagueness, Dominicans quite clearly took its “what you read is to be sung” as it applied to them to indicate the liturgy propagated centrally by the order—texts, melodies, and all.

An Elected Legislature on Shaving Day: The Dominican Constitutions

The Augustinian rule in both the friars’ *regula recepta* version and the sisters’ *regularis informatio* thus established that the Dominican order should follow a uniform rite. It could not, however, establish what this uniform liturgy ought to be, nor indeed any other detailed guidelines for communal life and governance. In order to supplement the vague instructions of the Augustinian rule, the Dominicans developed a set of statutes that they came to call constitutions. As noted above, selecting a set of supplementary statutes was a precondition for papal approval of the nascent order. Yet the Friars Preachers did not develop and formally

propagate parallel constitutions for the sisters until years later. Despite the fact that Dominic's group of preachers had already been attached to a community of women (the community at Prouille) long before it was even recognized as an order, the friars permitted decentralized and local developments to run their course in women's houses for decades. Even once the order established uniform constitutions for the sisters, the legislative processes of the order instantly opened a path for creeping change.

Developing Constitutions for Friars and Sisters

As noted above, some set of *consuetudines* based on the Premonstratensian *instituta* had been formulated and presented to the pope for approval in 1216. In 1220, the now formally recognized "Order of Preachers" held its first general chapter in Bologna. This assembly ratified a set of *consuetudines* divided into two parts, called *distinctiones*.²⁷ The first distinction included the regulations for communal life and the codification of punishments, which had been derived from the Premonstratensian model and which supplied some of the specificity lacking in the Augustinian rule. The second distinction complied with another mandate of the Fourth Lateran Council (canon 12) that religious communities should organize regional chapters (that is, meetings) on the model of the centralized Cistercian order and arrange for site evaluations (called visitations) to oversee religious observance in local houses.²⁸ The second distinction accordingly outlined procedures for electing officials and representatives to the order's legislative bodies (the general and the provincial chapters), as well as their duties and privileges, which included amending these statutes themselves. The Dominican *constitutiones*, as they came to be called, were reorganized and streamlined by Raymond of Peñaforte when he was elected master general in 1238, but he retained the major structural division into two distinctions.²⁹ His redaction came fully into effect in 1241, after which all further changes to the friars' constitutions were enacted as interventions in specific passages.

The Friars Preachers had centralized governance and universal statutes from the very beginning, but this situation did not obtain for the communities of women affiliated with the friars. In the early period, it would not have made sense to impose universal sisters' constitutions, as the

friars were engaged in a protracted debate over the *cura monialium* and it was not certain that they wanted a closely affiliated female branch at all.³⁰ Dominic himself had been involved in drawing up statutes for the women's community of San Sisto in Rome in 1220.³¹ These statutes do not survive as such, and it is therefore not possible to determine their degree of similarity to the variety of statutes for women under the oversight of the Friars Preachers that proliferated in other parts of Europe over the following three decades.

For example, we cannot reconstruct the precise relationship of the San Sisto statutes to those of St. Marx in Strasbourg, which were spread throughout the southern German region.³² While he was provincial prior of France (1244–54), Humbert of Romans drew up a set of constitutions for the convent of Montargis, but they do not seem to have circulated further.³³ The situation concerning “Dominican women’s statutes” is further confused, since in 1232 Pope Gregory IX imposed Dominic’s statutes for San Sisto on the Penitents of Mary Magdalene, a wholly different order that had never been and did not ask to be incorporated into the Dominican order. This imposition is the context for the surviving “statutes of San Sisto,” which exist only in a partially falsified copy appended to a 1291 papal bull directed at the Magdalenes.³⁴ The surviving sources are extremely patchy, but they paint a clear picture. Well into the 1250s, numerous women’s communities, some of which were affiliated with the Friars Preachers and some not, observed statutes, some of which were derived from the friars’ constitutions and some from the San Sisto *instituta*. The early lack of centralized governance for affiliated sisters did not prevent Dominican friars from providing women with statutes; it merely produced an unregulated diversity.

The status of the women’s communities under the order’s oversight was more or less resolved in a series of decisions by the general chapter in the years 1255–59.³⁵ The confusion over their constitutions was likewise settled in 1259, when Humbert of Romans, now master general (1254–63), disseminated constitutions for sisters that were derived directly from those currently valid for the friars. He proclaimed in an encyclical that any women who did not follow this particular set of constitutions were not to be considered sisters of the order.³⁶ These constitutions matched the contemporaneous constitutions of the friars word for word in many

passages. However, they lacked most of the second distinction with its descriptions of elections and governance because the sisters were not eligible to hold higher office or to participate in the order's legislative assemblies. Finally, in 1267, the papal bull *Affectu sincero* clarified the relationship between the friars and the communities of women that the order had accepted. Importantly, the bull established that, although friars confirmed and ceremonially instated prioresses, the power of election remained with the sisters.³⁷ The order's affiliated women thus retained a small part of the friars' democratic processes, but their constitutions were cut off from the order's mechanisms of legislation.

Legislating Liturgical Performance in the Constitutions

Both the constitutions for friars and Humbert's constitutions for sisters open with several chapters that regulate liturgical matters. The first chapter (*De officio ecclesie*) deals in general with the hours of the office; the second chapter (*De inclinationibus*) prescribes when to stand, sit, bow, kneel, or prostrate oneself during the liturgy; and the third chapter (*De suffragiis mortuorum*) sets the times and manners of commemorating the community's deceased members and benefactors. If we take a broader view of liturgical action, then [Chapters 4](#) through [6](#) concerning fasting periods, meals, and collation also pertain to liturgical practice.

There are some slight differences between the liturgical stipulations for friars and sisters in these opening chapters of the constitutions. The two most significant, both in the first chapter, pertain to the performance and planning of the liturgy. First, whereas the friars are enjoined to say their office "quickly and succinctly [breuiter et succincte]" so that it does not draw them too much away from their study, the sisters should perform "slowly and distinctly [tractim et distincte]" in order to focus their devotion on liturgical prayer.³⁸ This slight shift in wording effects a major difference in outlook and orientation, such that for the sisters the liturgy demands not only more focus but also more time.³⁹

Second, the friars had inserted directly into their constitutions that all communities were to observe the liturgy in the form codified by Humbert of Romans (more on this in the following section concerning the *ordinarium*).⁴⁰ However, the sisters' constitutions wholly lacked this clause.

Instead, they simply mandated that the prioress appoint and oversee a team to coordinate the liturgy.⁴¹ This is curious because Humbert's earlier constitutions for the French convent of Montargis (c. 1250) mandated that the sisters observe the same liturgy as the friars.⁴² Arguably, the 1267 papal bull confirming the use of Humbert's liturgy "throughout the universal parts of this order [per universas partes ipsius Ordinis]" did include the women's branch, but it is not clear whether anyone ever took it this way.⁴³ The sisters by and large did not take great liberties with this apparent freedom. Liturgical sources from Dominican convents show that they strove to obtain and follow Humbert's rite, just as the friars did.⁴⁴ This is not to downplay the significant evidence of unique chants and offices used and even composed by Dominican sisters.⁴⁵ These innovations, however, were additions and expansions to the Humbertian base, not wholesale replacements or structural deviations, although I address some possible exceptions in [Chapter 5](#).

These differences between the friars' and sisters' constitutions are frequently remarked on in scholarship, but they are actually less important in the present context than the stipulations that were identical. For example, both the friars' and the sisters' constitutions provided parallel instructions not only *that* the Little Office of the Virgin should be said in addition to the regular office hours on ferial days but also *where* the community should gather for it.⁴⁶ Such consonances are important because they became dissonances as the friars' constitutions evolved while the sisters' version could not.

Legislative Process and Growing Disparity

In this regard, the most consequential difference between the Dominican constitutions for friars and sisters was the short passage explaining a mechanism for changing and updating the constitutions through a well-defined legislative process. Under the guise of a prohibition, this passage appears in the prologue to the friars' version, but it is omitted entirely from the sisters' constitutions. "And so that a multitude of constitutions may be avoided: we prohibit that anything further be established, unless it is approved by two consecutive [general] chapters. Then, in the immediately following third chapter, it may be confirmed or deleted, whether by

provincial priors or by other diffinitors, wherever that third chapter is celebrated. [Et ut multitudo constitutionum uitetur: prohibemus ne de cetero aliquid statuatur, nisi per duo capitula continua fuerit approbatum, et tunc in tercio capitulo immediate sequente poterit confirmari uel deleri, siue per priores prouinciales siue per alios diffinitores, ubicumque illud tercium capitulum celebretur.]”⁴⁷ This passage effectually forbids the master general from holding autocratic power and altering the order’s constitutions according to his whim.⁴⁸ The democratic ingenuity of this three-year process not only required extended deliberation but also allowed both elected representatives (called *diffinitors*) and the regional governors (called *provincial priors*) to have a vote in any lasting changes to the order’s constitutions.⁴⁹

The general chapter quickly developed a technical terminology to demarcate the stages of this legislative process with precision. In the first year in which a measure was ratified, it was called an *inchoation*; if it was again ratified by the general chapter in the following year, it was entered into the acts as an *approbation*; finally, if it was ratified by the representatives at the third consecutive general chapter, it was recorded as a *confirmation* and passed into law. Passage from an inchoation to a confirmation was by no means a given and many ratified inchoations were never approved or confirmed. Gert Melville counted 448 inchoations ratified between 1243 and 1294, of which he was able to identify only 220—slightly less than half—passing the third ratification as a confirmation.⁵⁰ The three-step process of inchoation, approbation, and confirmation thus allowed for adaptation while ensuring a modicum of stability.

Most fundamentally, however, this passage in the friars’ constitutions allows for changes to be made at all. The clause is entirely missing from the prologue to the constitutions for sisters. This absence makes a certain amount of sense, since the (ideally) strictly enclosed women were not permitted to travel and therefore could not form a legislative body similar to the general chapters of the friars. However, the friars could have retained this power for their own legislative assemblies. Deleting the clause from the sisters’ constitutions also disempowered the general chapter of the friars from making any changes to the constitutions of the order’s female branch. Far from giving the sisters autonomy over their own legislative foundations, this oversight simply froze the text of the sisters’ constitutions permanently.

The situation was never rectified, and Humbert's 1259 Dominican constitutions for sisters remained in effect until 1932.⁵¹ Throughout the Middle Ages, the order only ever attempted to influence the regulations over the sisters by means of ordinances or admonitions decreed by individual friars entrusted with overseeing women's communities.⁵² In contrast, the Dominican general chapter continually tinkered with the friars' constitutions, which were therefore in a constant state of flux.

The issue of creeping divergence between the friars' and sisters' constitutions overwhelmingly affected the chapters pertaining to liturgical observance. Reflecting on the cumulative effect of two centuries of legislation, Friar Johannes Meyer (1422/23–1485) described the problem in the *Supplement (Buch der Ersetzung)*, which he composed while serving as confessor to the convent of St. Michael's Island in Bern (1454–57).⁵³

And so it happened, that from the time when the constitutions were thus instituted up until this time more than two hundred years later, many articles have been added to the constitution of the friars and it has been expanded by the general chapters that have been held since then. That is from the year of Our Lord 1257 (when the general chapter was in Florence; in that chapter, the constitutions were instituted as described above)⁵⁴ up to the year 1481.⁵⁵ And as the constitution of the friars has expanded, the constitution of the sisters has not expanded but rather remained the same, as it was made and instituted by the aforementioned Master Humbert. And because you should also observe a part of the articles that have been expanded and added for the friars, but which you do not have in your constitution, for this reason and as spiritual succor, I wish to write these things here, including those pertaining to the divine office, to prostrations, to fasting, to food, and to similar matters.

Also het es sich gefügt, dz sider der selben zit dz die Constituciones also gerichtet wurdent bis vf dise zit me denn CC ior, gar menig stúck zũ geleit ist zũ der Constitucio der brüder vnd also gemeret ist von den Grossen Capiteln generalen, die do sider har gehalten sint. Dz ist von dem ior dz man zalt von der geburt Christi tusent .CC.lvij. (do wz dz general Capitel ze florentz; jn dem se[l]ben

Capitel wurdent die Constituciones gerichtet als vor gesprochen ist), bis vf dis zit des jores Christi m cccc lxxxii. Vnd aber als sich der brüder Constitucio gemeret het, also hat sich der swestren Constitucio nit gemeret, besunder si ist glich bliben, als si von dem vor genanten meister humbertus gemacht vnd gesetzt wart. Vnd dorum die ding die den brüdern gemeret vnd zů gesetzt sint, vnd ir aber der selben nit habent in úwer Constitucio vnd ir doch der selben ding vnd stúck ein teil och sölten halten, dorum úch zů einem geistlichen fúrderung wil ich die selben ding hie schriben, als denn ist von gotes dienst, von dem nigen, von dem vasten, von der spis, vnd von andren des glich sachen.⁵⁶

Accordingly, Meyer provided a lengthy list of changes that the general chapters had made regarding prostrations ([Chapter 2](#) of the constitutions), prayers for the dead ([Chapter 3](#)), fasting ([Chapter 4](#)), the liturgy ([Chapter 1](#)), silence (Chapter 13), and so on. For example, the general chapter had added an extensive list of further liturgical moments at which friars should bow their heads to respect the names of Mary and of Jesus.⁵⁷ The chapter on fasting had been expanded with an intensified observance on Good Friday as well as new obligations on the Eve of Dominic's feast and on the Feast of Mary's Nativity.⁵⁸ Even though the sisters' constitutions had not been and could not be officially updated, Meyer suggested that the sisters ought to follow the current practices of the friars in instances where the men's constitutions used to but now no longer matched those for women.

Meyer's extensive account of the days on which one receives communion amusingly exemplifies the repercussions of changes to the friars' constitutions, the interconnected relationship of the constitutions and the ordinarium, and the ambiguous status of the sisters' customs. In the Middle Ages, reception of the Eucharist by unordained persons was ceremonially separate from the mass in which the host was consecrated.⁵⁹ Mass was ideally celebrated every day in Dominican communities, but only the celebrant consumed the consecrated host. Meyer explained that, originally, the order's liturgical rubrics stipulated that unordained members of the community should receive communion whenever they shaved their heads.⁶⁰ The constitutions had set down fifteen days in the year when everyone should be shaved. Therefore, those were also the days when they

should receive communion.⁶¹ However, it proved “too hard and too irritating on their scalps [ze hert vnd ze pinlich an iren höibteren]” for the early friars to study so much when they cut their hair so infrequently. So, in 1296, the general chapter in Strasbourg permitted the friars to shave their heads every two weeks in the summer and every three weeks in the winter.⁶² The rule in the ordinarium was not changed, so by default members of the friars’ communities were also permitted to receive communion more frequently.⁶³

The sisters’ constitutions had not changed, Meyer continued, and some convents still received communion only fifteen times a year as was the practice of the early friars. But many convents, especially those belonging to the Observant reform movement, had obtained special privileges and formal permission to receive communion as often as once a week.⁶⁴ Confirming Meyer’s observation, letters from the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg (dating to the 1480s) list nineteen days that the Dominican order designated for its non-ordained members to receive communion: (1) the first Sunday in Advent, (2) Christmas, (3) the octave of Epiphany, (4) Purification, (5) first Sunday in Lent, (6) *Laetare* Sunday, (7) Annunciation, (8) Maundy Thursday, (9) Easter, (10) the third Sunday after Easter, (11) Pentecost, (12) Corpus Christi, (13) Barnabas, (14) Peter and Paul, (15) Mary Magdalene, (16) Assumption, (17) Nativity of the Virgin, (18) Michaelmas, and (19) All Saints.⁶⁵ But the Nuremberg sisters themselves, as the letters smugly note, possessed a special privilege to receive communion every week.⁶⁶ This variability in the frequency of communion presented a significant issue in the culture of intense Eucharistic devotion that flourished in the late Middle Ages.⁶⁷ The petrified state of the sisters’ constitutions was devotionally detrimental to the communities of women without enough clout and connections to obtain special privileges for more frequent communion.

The very fact that itchy scalps would have an effect on the frequency of communion reveals the extent to which liturgical practices depended on the regulations of the constitutions. The Dominican constitutions both for friars and for sisters supplemented the Augustinian rule with further specificity on communal life and the order’s governance. The friars’ version was changed through inchoation, approbation, and confirmation by three successive general chapters. This mechanism was omitted from the sisters’ version and

no steps were taken to remediate it, leaving the text of the sisters' constitutions frozen in the state in which they had been promulgated in 1259. To rectify this, the only avenue open to the sisters was seeking individual ordinances or privileges from the provincial prior, the master general, or even the pope. Because these privileges were never granted universally to all Dominican sisters, a diversity of practices emerged.

Regulating Ritual: The Dominican Ordinarium

The same processes of change that applied to the constitutions were also implemented with the third foundational document of Dominican legislation: the ordinarium. All fourteen liturgical books promulgated by Master General Humbert of Romans in 1256–59 had obligatory and normative status. The ordinarium was the key that regulated the relationship of the other books to each other and to performance practice, as described in [Chapter 1](#). It therefore became the focus of the general chapter's decisions regarding updates and innovations to the order's standardized liturgy. Just like the friars' constitutions, the centralized Dominican ordinarium—and thereby the Dominican liturgy—was altered and updated over the course of the later Middle Ages through legislative action. Because the sisters never received a separate women's ordinarium to complement their separate rule and constitutions, they were—in theory—expected to conform to the liturgy of the friars, including the changes enacted by the general chapter.

Negotiating Diverse Customs: The Early Evolution of the Dominican Liturgy

The codification of the Dominican Rite formed the final phase of early Dominican legislative evolution. At their foundation in 1216, the Friars Preachers had selected the Augustinian rule and drawn up statutes modeled on the Premonstratensians. These statutes, now conceived as constitutions, attained a dynamic stasis in 1241, after Master General Raymond of Peñaforte's streamlined revision took effect. Under Raymond's successor, Master General John of Wildeshausen (r. 1241–52), the order turned to the liturgy with the intent to standardize it across the order. The institution of a uniform liturgy was motivated at least in part to minimize friction when

traveling friars visited communities in different regions.⁶⁸ Dominican friaries did assimilate some local practices, but, for the most part, the divergences from friary to friary were likely not horribly grave.⁶⁹ Eleanor Giraud has suggested that reforms aimed for compression and abbreviation of longer chants and melodies, rather than unification of divergent practices.⁷⁰ The paucity of early Dominican liturgical sources makes it difficult to determine just how diverse the liturgical practices of far-flung friaries were.

The motivations for liturgical reform and codification might also have arisen from ritual practices that have not yet received attention within this debate. Whereas previous analyses seeking the source of the Dominican liturgy have quite reasonably focused on the mass and the office, there may have been greater variety in the processional liturgies.⁷¹ For example, the particular form of the altar-washing ceremony on Maundy Thursday as it is codified in the final standardized Dominican Rite is otherwise only attested in the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris and the Sarum Rite of Salisbury Cathedral in England.⁷² This procession may have been borrowed from the Victorines at first only by the Parisian community of Dominican friars, whence it spread throughout the order. As I noted at the opening of this chapter, early accounts of the *Salve regina* procession after compline state that this practice originated in the friary of Bologna as a plea for Mary's intercession on behalf of a brother who was possessed by a demon. Friars from other communities found the ceremony a beautiful and apt way to express their special devotion to the Blessed Virgin and instituted the procession throughout the order.⁷³ The order's attempts to reconcile liturgical differences may largely have addressed such processional liturgies or fine-grained ritual details; they do not necessarily indicate liturgical chaos. However pronounced the liturgical diversity was and however it may have developed, once the constitutions were in a well-organized state, the Dominicans turned to their rite.

The process of creating a uniform liturgy was moderately contentious and took about ten years.⁷⁴ At the general chapter of Bologna in 1244, the delegates were instructed to send liturgical books from each province to the general chapter in Cologne the following year. At that chapter, four friars, each from a different province, were selected and commissioned to produce a single rite by harmonizing the practices that varied by geographical area.⁷⁵

In October 1245, these four friars gathered in the Angers friary to begin their work and they submitted a solution to the general chapter held in Paris in 1246. This general chapter approved their work and attempted to entrench it in law by passing an inchoation, the first of the three ratifications necessary to make a change to the constitutions.⁷⁶ The 1246 Paris general chapter furthermore commissioned Humbert of Romans (at the time provincial prior of France) to manage the lectionary.⁷⁷ When the third ratification (the confirmation) passed at the general chapter in 1248, again in Paris, this liturgy became binding for all friaries of the order by virtue of its inclusion in the constitutions.

However, the work of the four friars was soon found to be wanting. The acts of the general chapter held in London in 1250 record that the master general and diffinitors had received complaints “about the multiple discordances in the divine office arranged by the four friars [super discordia multiplici divini officii per iiii^{or} fratres ordinati].”⁷⁸ Bonniwell’s rhetoric about “protestants” and “recalcitrants” produces the impression that the complaints stemmed from stubborn friars unwilling to give up cherished rituals.⁷⁹ However, the wording in the acts of the general chapter leaves open the possibility that these were legitimate concerns over internal inconsistencies. The four friars were instructed to assemble again, this time at the friary in Metz, and fix the problems that had been identified in the interim. When the general chapter gathered there the following year (1251), the revision was approved and exemplars for copying ordered to be made available in Paris and Bologna.⁸⁰ The 1252 general chapter in Bologna introduced an inchoation to update the previously approved constitutional amendment about the liturgy of the four friars to specify that the binding version was the one that had been approved at the Metz general chapter in 1251.⁸¹ This amendment, however, never proceeded further. Because Master General John of Wildeshausen died in November 1252, the 1253 general chapter was postponed by a year to allow time for the news to reach all the provinces, so they might send appropriate delegates for the election of the new master general.⁸²

Uniformity and Mutability: The Liturgy According to Humbert of Romans

This transition of power ushered in the final phase of the order's liturgical codification. At the general chapter held in Buda in 1254, the delegates elected Humbert of Romans, who, in 1246, had been charged with arranging the order's lectionary, who would go on to propagate the sisters' constitutions in 1259, and whose commentaries on the Augustinian rule and Dominican constitutions we have already encountered. Upon Humbert's election to Master General, the 1254 Buda general chapter immediately entrusted him with finalizing the liturgical revisions and passed an inchoation embedding his—forthcoming—version in the order's constitutions.⁸³ This amendment was approved in 1255 and confirmed in 1256, passing into law.⁸⁴ In an encyclical that year, Humbert informed the friars of his order that the work had been completed and asked for their forbearing compliance, since compromises had been necessary and not everyone's requests could be met.⁸⁵ Evidently, some did not quite believe the process was over; several times in the following years the general chapter and provincial chapters admonished priors to obtain the new liturgical books for their friaries. In the 1259 acts, the general chapter explicitly addressed such doubts by assuring, "Let all know that the master general does not intend to change anything further [Sciunt omnes quod magister ordinis nichil de cetero immutare proponit]."⁸⁶ The Dominican liturgy was established.

The fourteen required liturgical books were copied into carefully made omnibus exemplar manuscripts against which all existing liturgical books were to be corrected and from which all new books were to be copied.⁸⁷ The standards for conformity were so high that even the style of musical notation adhered to the exemplars.⁸⁸ Although *Hufnagel* notation (which looks like rough nails with diamond-shaped heads) was the most widespread musical script in German regions, throughout the Middle Ages German-based Dominican communities uniformly used the square notation that was native to thirteenth-century Paris.⁸⁹ As Eleanor Giraud has shown in her work on early Dominican manuscripts, the copy work was remarkably accurate. Scribes tended to reproduce melodies exactly without special concern for note shapes or ligatures. That is, even when the written notation differed graphically between manuscripts, it produced the same melody when performed.⁹⁰ By restricting the exemplars from which new liturgical books could be copied and by inserting the requirement to follow

Humbert's rite in the constitutions, the Dominican order attempted to maintain tight control over the liturgical practices of its member communities.

Humbert's version of the Dominican Rite was confirmed by papal bull in 1267.⁹¹ Stories about the origins of the Dominican liturgy usually end here with the entrenchment of Humbert's rite in the constitutions, the production of exemplar manuscripts, and the confirmation by papal bull. If one considers only the music manuscripts, then, indeed, the project of Dominican liturgical standardization achieved a stability in 1256, which would only need adjustment when new feasts were introduced, such as Corpus Christi (1304–6).⁹² However, the Dominicans had always addressed ritual issues in the general chapter and instantly began treating the ordinarium in precisely the same manner as the constitutions. Liturgical changes could be made through textual interventions in the ordinarium by ratification of three successive general chapters in the same process of inchoation, approbation, and confirmation for changes to the constitutions.

The transition was immediate. The constitutional amendment mandating Humbert's liturgy received final confirmation in 1256. In 1257, only one year later, the general chapter already ratified an inchoation, changing the practice of a ritual by altering the wording of Humbert's ordinarium so that friars would not have to observe the Good Friday liturgy shoeless: "Where it says in the ordinarium that the brothers should walk or enter the chapterhouse barefoot, delete it all. [Ubi dicitur in ordinario quod fratres in parasceve discalciati vadant vel intrent capitulum, deleatur totum.]"⁹³ This was only the first in what would become a long tradition of liturgical changes undertaken through the Dominican legislative process.⁹⁴

Indeed, this practice was so important to the Dominicans that the order obtained a second papal bull specifically addressing the matter of liturgical change. In addition to the 1267 papal bull confirming Humbert's liturgy, in 1285 the Dominicans obtained a second papal bull affirming the right of the order to adjust its liturgy through its legislative mechanism of three general chapters.⁹⁵ By the late thirteenth century, the chant books of the order possessed a canonical and universal status that encompassed not only the texts but even the graphic representation of musical notation. In contrast, the ordinarium enjoyed the same legislative status as the constitutions,

which could be—and continually were—modified through a multiyear democratic process. Liturgical change was legislative change.

Women's Liturgies and Emerging Issues

Despite the energy the Dominicans invested in ensuring liturgical uniformity throughout the order's friaries, the same level of attention was never devoted to the sisters' liturgy. Whereas the Friars Preachers formally issued a version of the rule and a version of the constitutions tailored to the needs and circumstances of women's communities, an official sisters' ordinarium was never produced. In one way, this was a good thing, as the order thereby side-stepped the issues that plagued the frozen women's constitutions. Because no separate sisters' ordinarium had been released, the interventions confirmed by the general chapter were valid for them as well. The women's liturgical observances could keep pace with those of their brethren without recourse to the ambiguous legal mechanism of ordinances, which was used for changes to the constitutions.

In practice, however, two problems emerged. First, the general chapter's busy engagement with liturgical questions created problems of dissemination that affected men's and women's communities alike. As the changes multiplied over the course of the later Middle Ages, individual manuscript copies might become obsolete, and it was difficult for communities to determine whether they were in fact in compliance with the order's uniform rite. Second, the ordinarium was written for the use of the friars and contained numerous ceremonies that were prohibited for the sisters, either because they were women or because they were enclosed. For example, the processional liturgies mentioned at the opening of this section were impossible for women to perform in the prescribed manner. Both the *Salve regina* procession and the Maundy Thursday altar washing entailed exiting the choir and processing through the nave, or external church. This area of the church was outside the convent enclosure and therefore barred to strictly enclosed religious women.⁹⁶

In theory, the Dominican sisters ought to have enjoyed easy liturgical conformity with the friars, but this uniformity was difficult to observe in practice. Although the order eventually provided an official set of sisters' constitutions, women were apparently expected to use Humbert's

ordinarium, which had been composed with only the friars in mind. It is somewhat curious that the diversity of women's constitutions was recognized and fixed, whereas the exact same problem with the ordinarium was not, since both the sisters' constitutions and the friars' ordinarium were finalized and propagated by the same man: Humbert of Romans. Yet these issues were never resolved. Liturgical decisions of the general chapter might be poorly disseminated, rendering uncertain whether a community was actually in compliance at any given time. Moreover, many of the ordinarium's rituals were simply forbidden to the sisters. The solutions found to these two problems form the focus of [Chapters 3](#) and [4](#).

Conclusion: Gender, Legislation, and the Erosion of Dominican Uniformity

The fifth chapter of Johannes Meyer's *Supplement* (1454–55) treated the relationship of Dominican sisters to the Order of Friars Preachers. He informed his female readers that they were not, in fact, preachers, because this was not appropriate for women. Accordingly, when the sisters conducted formal business, they should designate their religious affiliation as “the Order of St. Augustine, according to the statutes and under the care of the Order of Preachers.”⁹⁷ However, they should only do this, he instructed, in formal correspondence. Otherwise, they should simply call themselves “sisters of the Order of Preachers [swestern prediger ordens]” in recognition of the extremely close institutional relationship between the order's male and female branches. Meyer contrasted this naming practice with that of the Minorites (that is, the Franciscans) and the Poor Clares, explaining the evolution of the latter from the Damianites.⁹⁸ He justified their differentiation by highlighting that some religious practices differed between the communities of Franciscan friars and Poor Clares.

Not so with the friars and sisters of the Order of Preachers, Meyer explained, who shared all institutions: “The sisters of the Order of Preachers conform to their brothers in the rule, in the constitution, in the ordinarium of the liturgy, in the order's habit, and in that they are both subject to the same superiors, and in all other things to the extent that men and women may conform to each other in religious matters. [Die swestern von prediger orden sind sich gleichen iren brüdern mit der regel, mit der

Constitutio, mit dem ordinario des götlichen amptz, mit des ordens kleid, vnd dz si bede vnder einer meisterschafft sint, vnd mit allen andren dingen als ferr sich man vnd frowen glichen mögen in geistlichen dingen.]”⁹⁹ Meyer’s description of the institutional conformity between the male and female branches of the Dominican order was true to a certain extent, but he also papered over some consequential differences. Yes, both friars and sisters lived under the rule of St. Augustine, but multiple versions of this rule circulated in the Middle Ages and the sisters used one that differed slightly from that of the friars. Yes, the sisters’ constitutions derived directly from those of the friars, but they lacked the entire second distinction with its legislative processes, meaning that while the friars’ constitutions steadily evolved, those of the sisters remained the same. Yes, both friars and sisters were expected to plan their liturgy according to the same ordinarium, but this ordinarium had been designed for communities of men who were mostly ordained priests and it included rituals in which women were forbidden from participating.

As Meyer explained and as this chapter has shown, these three documents—the Augustinian rule, the Dominican constitutions, and the ordinarium—laid the foundations for religious life in the friaries and convents of the Dominican order. Yet the initially subtle differences increased in gravity as the Middle Ages wore on, a fact that Meyer himself recognized, as I discussed above. By the fifteenth century, numerous liturgical divergences had emerged, affecting issues as basic as which days entailed obligatory fasting and as devotionally meaningful as the frequency of communion. The aspired uniformity of the order’s origins eroded. It may have been a special privilege for the Dominican sisters to be legally so closely bound to the friars, as Meyer boasts, but it also created growing difficulties.

CHAPTER 3

Manuscripts, Legislation, and the Materiality of Liturgical Change

The Latin-Language Ordinaria

Our scene is set in Paris during the 1260s. The city is home to a thriving book industry, driven by the needs of the university while also serving religious communities.¹ A professional scribe is neatly and industriously copying out the text before him, when a Dominican friar rushes in shouting at him to stop. While looking over a just-completed unit of the scribe's work, the friar had noticed a huge amount of missing text. When the scribe and friar put their heads together, they discover that the text is not in fact missing. Instead, the outer leaf (bifolium) of the exemplar (*pecia*) from which the scribe is copying had been placed the wrong way around. Try this at home: Stack several sheets of paper and fold them in half into a booklet; number the booklet's pages consecutively; now take the outermost sheet and flip it over so that the text is still the right way up, but the inside is now on the outside and vice versa; you will find that the booklet's last two pages have become the first two pages and the first two pages are now at the end. The friar and scribe in thirteenth-century Paris identify the error and fix it quickly, before the scribe even finishes the quire (that is, the booklet) he is working on. The friar makes a marginal annotation on the page where the problem starts, explaining the crossed-out passage: *hic deficit unum folium in x. pecia*, one folio in the tenth *pecia* is messed up. (See [Figure 3](#).)

Now imagine another Dominican friar sitting among a pile of books and notes one hundred and fifty years later in a distant city. It is Nuremberg in

the early months of 1421, and a delegation is preparing to attend the general chapter in Metz. The stakes are high, for this is only the second full assembly since the end of the Great Western Schism, and the Dominican order is still struggling to reunite those who followed the popes in Rome and those who followed the popes in Avignon into a single order.² For the past twenty-five years, the Nuremberg friary has been a bastion of strict adherence to the order's rule and constitutions, one of the few successes in the foundering Observant reform movement.³ Perhaps this professed commitment to the order's legislation is why a Nuremberg friar is doing the legwork for the general chapter's upcoming deliberations on liturgical matters; who could better defend the true law against the deviant practices of those Avignonese schismatics? Yet, as he compiles the records of past legislation, cross-referencing it with his community's ordinarium, he is repeatedly confronted with the uncomfortable fact that, even before the Schism, his order's precious legislation had introduced internal inconsistencies to the liturgical rubrics. Even more horrifying, he discovers that in some places the ordinarium had never been coherent. As he sorts through these materials, his reference notes turn into a plea: In addition to the new measures on the docket for Metz, the general chapter should render clear declarations about nearly thirty liturgical issues that are contradictory and confusing. (See [Figure 5](#).)

These two scenes illustrate two experts in Dominican liturgy, tackling the two mechanisms established to ensure uniform liturgical practice across the Dominican order: the careful quality control of copies made from approved exemplars and the subjection of liturgical change to the oversight of the Dominican general chapter. The first friar, in thirteenth-century Paris, uses his expertise to fix a manuscript as it is being made, demonstrating the success of the early exemplars. Yet the general chapter's frequent legislation created a problem of dissemination, for which the control mechanism of the exemplar manuscripts was wholly unsuited. Ideally, changes would be entered into the exemplars from which future manuscripts would be copied. Previous scholarship has shown that this was not done.⁴ Moreover, any copies that had already been finished, corrected, and put to use in Dominican houses across Europe needed to be amended. The second friar embarked on his labors in fifteenth-century Nuremberg because—as I show in this chapter—this also was not reliably done. The

manuscript traces produced by these two liturgical experts reveal the initial successes and the ultimate failures of these two mechanisms to transmit and uphold the uniform Dominican liturgy.

In this chapter, I turn from the foundational structures that occupied [Chapters 1](#) and [2](#) to the specific manuscript studies pursued in the remainder of the book. Likewise, I turn from the thirteenth-century origins of the Dominican liturgy to analyze the long-term repercussions of the order's legislative change. This issue vexed the friars and sisters alike. I focus first primarily on a Latin-language ordinarium manuscript that was owned and used by a friary, in order to curtail any reader's suspicions that the problems I identify arose because Dominican women were negligent or were themselves neglected. The thirteenth-century manuscript on which I focus and the fifteenth-century treatise bound with it demonstrate plainly that, even setting aside the competing legislation produced by the two halves of the order during the Great Western Schism, friars also struggled to keep abreast of the order's liturgical change.

This chapter also ushers in my focus on Nuremberg, which remains a thread throughout the rest of this study. Most of this chapter focuses on a manuscript that was owned at the end of the Middle Ages by the friary in Würzburg, which was (unsuccessfully) reformed in 1451 by Nuremberg friars. The fifteenth-century treatise bound into the codex was demonstrably composed by a Nuremberg friar, whose labors I imaginatively portrayed above. At the end of the chapter, I examine a second codex, containing a Latin-language ordinarium that was produced in Nuremberg in the fifteenth century and owned, albeit probably not created, by the Dominican sisters of St. Katherine. These two manuscripts, produced two hundred years apart but linked by the treatise they share, reveal how the Dominican ordinarium got into such a state that it needed to be fixed.

Doubling Trouble: The Ordinarium's Organization and Its Consequences

In order to understand some of the issues that arose with amendments to the ordinarium, it is necessary to know how the standard Dominican ordinarium organized its contents. This organization, which should not have been a problem but—judging by the evidence—was, created a minor hurdle for

efforts to maintain the ordinarium in accordance with the legislation of the general chapter. The ordinarium's macro-organization divided instructions for the office (the daily cycle of prayer hours) from guidelines for the mass (the celebration of the Eucharist).⁵ Sandwiched between these two halves were guidelines for liturgical action in the broader sense. These included both occasional ceremonies, such as the election of officials, and daily liturgies, such as the post-compline *Salve regina* procession and the penitential receiving of discipline.⁶ The ordinarium lacked a detailed description of the forms and gestures of the mass, which was placed at the beginning of the conventual missal. (This point will return at the end of this chapter.) Nevertheless, the ordinarium formed a fairly comprehensive guide to the liturgical rituals of the Dominican order.

The ordinarium's separation between office and mass material facilitates coordination of the liturgy because, as described in [Chapter 1](#), these two classes of liturgical action were generally divided into separate liturgical books: Choral chants for the office are in the antiphoner, but choral chants for the mass are in a different book, the gradual. Furthermore, each ordinarium section shares with other liturgical books an internal three-part structure: the Temporale; the Sanctorale; and common and recurring material ([Table 6](#)). The ordinarium's sections for office and mass both began with scheduling instructions and general guidelines; for example, when and when not to prostrate oneself during the office (§4) or when and when not to sing the *Credo* at mass (§556). These openings were followed by rubrics for Sundays and feasts of the Temporale (the cycle of Christ's life), beginning with Advent and closing with the theological "down time" of Ordinary Time from August through November. After the liturgy for the Church Dedication, each section moved into the Sanctorale cycle with the liturgies for saints' feasts, prefaced in the office section by another lengthy series of general instructions. Both the office and mass sections then provided frequently used material, including the commons of saints—that is, generic chants that could be used for any saint belonging to a particular class (apostle, evangelist, martyr, virgin, or confessor)—and instructions for Saturdays, which were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary at certain times of the year.⁷ After additional votive observances, both portions of the ordinarium closed with the Office and the Mass of the Dead, respectively.⁸

This unity of structure facilitated navigation of the ordinarium so that everything needed could easily be found.

The organization of the ordinarium's contents is thus well-suited to its primary purpose: helping coordinate one set of performance books for the office and a separate set of performance books for the mass. However, this doubled structure is less conducive to making thorough updates. The macro-level separation of the office and the mass meant that each feast, *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* alike, appeared twice. When legislation was passed concerning any feast, textual interventions were thus required in (at least) two places in the ordinarium; likewise, if a new feast was introduced to the Dominican calendar, it needed to be entered both in the office and in the mass sections. The very organizational divisions that made the ordinarium easier to use in coordinating the liturgy threw up an extra hurdle when recording decisions of the general chapter. Accordingly, neither of the two manuscripts I consider in this chapter reliably contains the necessary updates in both the office and the mass sections of the ordinarium.

Table 6. The contents and organization of the Dominican ordinarium. Note the parallel structures of the office and mass sections, divided by rubrics for other communal rituals.

<i>Section ##</i>	<i>Macro-organization</i>	<i>Contents</i>
Office		
§1–13	general guidelines	Daily practices and scheduling instructions
§14– 251	<i>Temporale</i> cycle	First Sunday in Advent through Anniversary of the Church Dedication
§252– 306	general guidelines	Scheduling instructions and descriptions of the ranks of solemnity
§307– 453	<i>Sanctorale</i> cycle	Andrew (November 30) through Saturninus (November 29)
§454– 463	frequently used material	Commons of saints and memoriae
§464– 467		Saturday Commemorative Office of the Virgin
§468– 472		Daily Little Office of the Virgin
§473– 480		Office of the Dead
Other liturgical rituals		
§481		<i>Salve regina</i> procession
§482– 485		Discipline after compline

<i>Section ##</i>	<i>Macro-organization</i>	<i>Contents</i>
§486		Reception of novices
§487– 489		Elections
§490– 494		Prayers for the general chapter and for other travelers
§495– 503		Reception of donors to the order’s spiritual benefits
§504– 508		Kalends and chapter meeting
§509– 513		Meals and collation
	Mass	
§514– 571	general guidelines	Daily practices and scheduling instructions
§572– 724	Temporale cycle	First Sunday in Advent through Anniversary of the Church Dedication
§725– 872	Sanctorale cycle	Vigil of Andrew (November 29) through Vitalis and Agricola (November 27)
§873– 881	frequently used material	Commons of saints and other votive masses
§882– 884		Saturday Commemorative Mass of the Virgin
§885– 901		All saints and various invocatory purposes
§902– 906		Mass of the Dead
§907		Schedule of Marian sequences for Saturday Commemorative Mass

The Early Promise of Uniformity: The Würzburg Ordinarium

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q.54 provides insight into the ways in which Dominican friars handled the two mechanisms for regulative control of the ordinarium: the procedure for copying from an exemplar and the practice of entering legislative updates. In this particular case, they did a much better job with the first than with the second. At the time of its production, the manuscript underwent multiple rounds of correction in compliance with the order’s formal guidelines. The major textual error produced in the scene I painted at the opening of this chapter reveals that

the scribes were much less attentive than the corrector. Previous scholarship has largely focused on the music books, which were copied with a high degree of accuracy.⁹ In contrast, there was almost no effort to ensure the dissemination of a uniform and accurate lectionary.¹⁰ This chapter presents the first study assessing the accuracy of an early ordinarium and thus further illuminates the production of early Dominican liturgical books in the case of a low-production-value manuscript destined for practical use.

From Paris to Würzburg?

It is not possible to determine the original owner of the Würzburg ordinarium, nor the friary for which it was produced. An ownership mark in a modern hand locates the codex in the Dominican friary in Würzburg (f. 1r; [Figure 2](#)). This community was founded in 1231 and survived until the widespread dissolution of religious institutions following the 1803 Imperial Recess (*Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*).¹¹ The ordinarium portion of the codex might have been owned by the Würzburg friary already in the Middle Ages. Just as easily, it might have found its way to Würzburg in the 1450s, during the Nuremberg friary's failed attempt to reform the Würzburg friars to the Observance, or in the sixteenth century, when the friary that owned it (either Nuremberg or possibly Augsburg) succumbed to the Protestant Reformation.¹² The very absence of localizable characteristics makes this document a perfect case for examining the (ideally) order-wide processes of correction and emendation.

The Würzburg manuscript contains a copy of the official, standardized Dominican ordinarium in the earliest surviving version.¹³ As noted in [Chapter 2](#), codification of the Dominican Rite was completed in 1256, when the general chapter passed the final confirmation enshrining Humbert of Romans's version in the constitutions. The two surviving exemplar manuscripts that still contain an ordinarium were completed some few years later: Rome, Santa Sabina, XIV L 1 in 1259 and London, British Library, Add. ms. 23935 in the early 1260s. To determine the production dates of the exemplars, scholars have mostly relied on the text of the constitutions contained in the martyrology.¹⁴ The proposed dates are supported by the text of the ordinarium: Both exemplar manuscripts contain a short text at the end of the chapter *De modo recipiendi ad beneficia* (§495–503) that was

mandated by an admonition at the general chapter of 1259, and both manuscripts lack the feast of St. Anthony of Padua, confirmed by the general chapter in 1262.¹⁵ The corrected base text of the Würzburg ordinarium matches these two manuscripts exactly; the new text at the end of *De modo recipiendi* appears on f. 100v; St. Anthony of Padua is present, but the feast sits in a later annotation on the bottom margin of f. 156r. This ordinarium also was thus copied and corrected from an exemplar dating to 1259–60.

Indeed, the Würzburg manuscript may itself have been copied in Paris in the 1260s.¹⁶ Scholars do not have much to work with here, as the manuscript is designed for practical use. It does not have any decoration more elaborate than filigree initials, and the opening Q is the only initial that is larger than one line in height ([Figure 2](#)). Nevertheless, comparing this Q to the classification of thirteenth-century Parisian filigree initials produced by Patricia Stirnemann reveals striking similarities to a number of her selected examples.¹⁷ Regardless of whether the Würzburg ordinarium was copied at the same time and place as the surviving Rome and London exemplars, its text is identical to theirs. Unlike those exemplars, the Würzburg ordinarium contains numerous marginal annotations of legislative changes. It thus provides a golden opportunity to examine not only the accuracy checks at production but also the process of updating from 1260 right up to and into the fifteenth century.

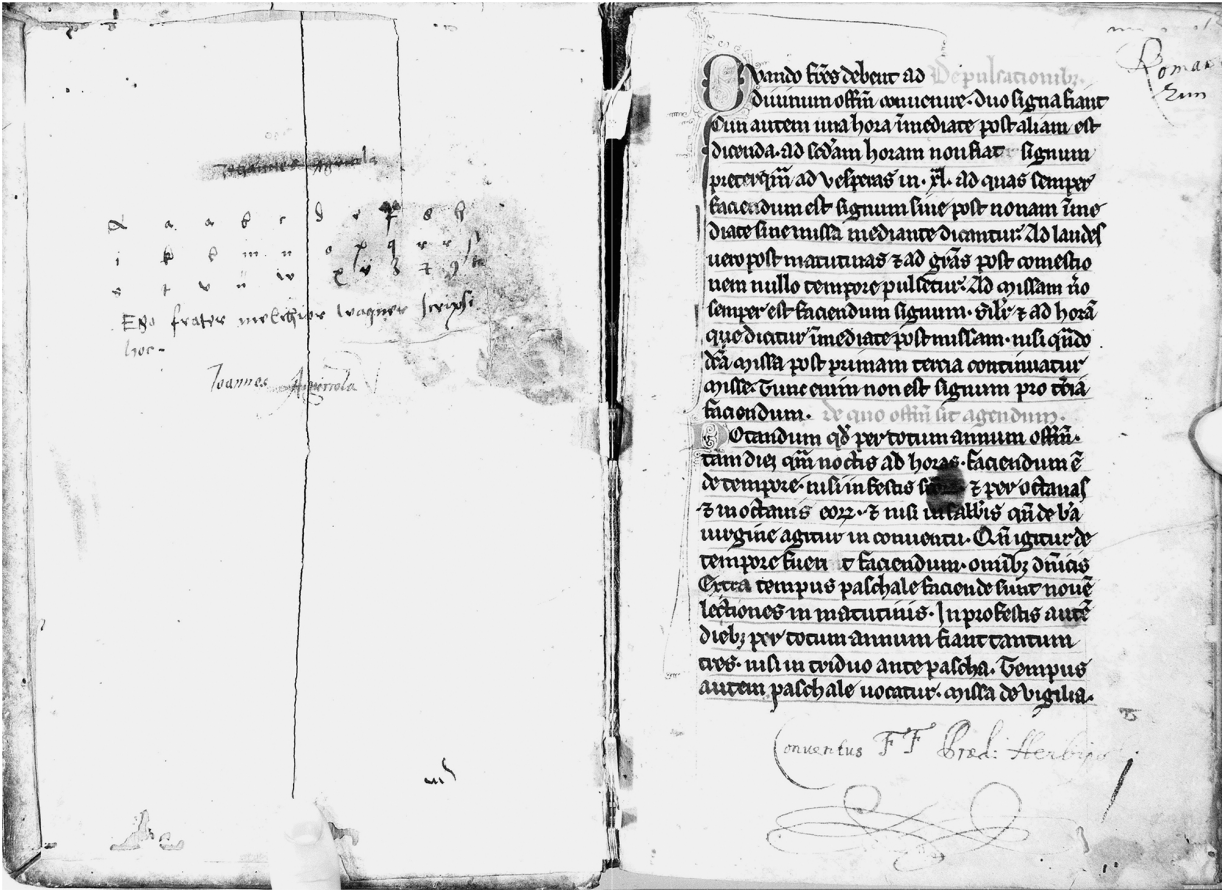


Figure 2. Beginning of the Latin Würzburg ordinarium. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q.54, front pastedown; (facing page) f. 1r.

The Cantor and the Messed-Up Pecia: Producing an Accurate Ordinarium

The Würzburg ordinarium renders visible the correction process mandated at the beginning of the Dominican antiphoner: “Before anything is read or sung out of any book to be newly written, first the book should be corrected against correct exemplars twice. [Antequam legatur vel cantetur de cetero in quocumque libro de novo scribendo, prius liber bis ad correctia exemplaria corrigatur.]”¹⁸ In accordance with these instructions, the most numerous marginal annotations in the manuscript represent corrections of copying mistakes, mostly supplying text that had been omitted as the result of eye-skip errors. Excess or faulty text, such as doubled or misspelled words and verbs with the incorrect number or mood, usually bears interlinear corrections with deletions marked by strikethroughs, by dots under the letters, and quite frequently both. The overkill on deletion marks suggests

multiple rounds of correction against an exemplar, in conformity with the order's instructions. Moreover, the silliness of some mistakes and the effectiveness of their correction suggest that the work was completed by non-Dominican professional scribes supervised by a Dominican liturgical expert, perhaps a cantor.

Each round of correction involved two steps: First, the correctors made swift marginal notes while checking the copy against the exemplar; and, second, the necessary emendations or additions were incorporated into the main body of the text. Even where marginalia do not survive, it is likely that the corrections were cued with similar annotations that were lost when the book was cropped.¹⁹ Usually the in-text corrections appear in a hand different from that of the annotation, sometimes that of the main scribe and sometimes another scribe approximating the same formal script.²⁰ The variety of the contributing scribal hands suggests that the two rounds of correction involved separate people, although it is possible that some of these hands belong to the same person writing in different scripts.

The major error that I dramatized in my opening to this chapter provides especially interesting evidence for medieval bookmaking practice. In the Middle Ages, as today, long books were made by binding together several small booklets, called quires.²¹ Take a hardcover book and look at it from the top or bottom. You will see a scalloping pattern along the spine edge where the backs of all the little booklets are lined up in a row. As Richard and Mary Rouse have shown, the bookmakers of thirteenth-century Paris used a production technique in which each of the booklets (quires) that made up a large book were kept separate.²² A book could be copied more quickly if several scribes worked on several quires simultaneously. The Parisian bookmakers called these loose exemplar quires *peciae*, and this method is known in scholarship as the *pecia* system.²³ The mistake in the Würzburg manuscript is explicitly connected to the *pecia* system by the marginal annotation explaining what happened: “here one folio in the tenth *pecia* is messed up [hic deficit unum folium in x. pecia]” (f. 102v; [Figure 3](#)). Numerous scholars have discussed the use of the *pecia* system for producing Dominican manuscripts in Paris, so the mention of *pecia* does not surprise.²⁴ The deficiency paradoxically does reveal the effectiveness of early Dominican correction practice.

As I described at the beginning of the chapter, “deficit” does not mean that a folio is missing. Rather, the *pecia* from which the scribe was copying had the outer sheet (bifolium) bound in backward, such that what was supposed to be the last folio appeared first. The scribe mechanically copied what he had been given without thinking about it, producing the following disorder. The chapter on meals (§509) begins at the top of f. 102v, but halfway down the page the text skips ahead to a chapter on mass (§552). It continues for exactly one folio’s worth of text before jumping back to a later section in the chapter on meals (§513). The out-of-place mass text is marked for deletion with the word *vacat* in the margin (see [Figure 3](#)). Because folio 102 is at the end of the ninth quire, the correct text has been bound in on a singleton (f. 103) between that quire and the beginning of the tenth.²⁵ The error must have been discovered quite quickly because the misplaced mass text appears (again) in its correct location toward the end of this same following quire (f. 112v).

The fact that the mistake was recognized before the scribe had completed the next quire indicates that a competent corrector was reviewing the scribe’s work quire by quire, rather than waiting until the entire ordinarium had been finished to undertake correction. Because the out-of-place text was not noticed initially, it suggests that a professional scribe was working from loose *peciae* and was not paying close attention to the content of the text that he was copying. Such inattention would explain transcribing the word *quatuor* (four) instead of *cantor* (singer): “once the four has begun the alleluia [postquam quatuor inceperit alleluia]” (f. 104r). This nonsense was not emended because the entire passage was marked for deletion. The corrector, in contrast, evidently was familiar enough with the content of the Dominican ordinarium that he was able to recognize that there was a problem not (only) with the scribe’s work but with the exemplar itself.



Figure 3. Marginal annotation in the Latin Würzburg ordinarium indicating an error in the *pecia*. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q.54, f. 102v; (facing page) f. 103r.

This corrector was either the overseer of scribes (the administrator responsible for hiring and monitoring the lay professional scribes copying for the friars) or possibly the cantor.²⁶ Speaking for the cantor is, first, that a cantor’s experience with liturgical organization would enable him better than most to recognize such a textual defect in the exemplar and, second, because according to Humbert of Romans, this was his job. As Humbert explained in his *Book of Duties* (*Liber de officiis*), the cantor not only planned liturgical performance but also maintained the community’s liturgical books. Especially after the propagation of the standardized rite, the cantor was responsible for ensuring “that the community possesses the entire liturgy, well corrected [ut totum officium bene correctum habeatur in domo].”²⁷ If a friary operated in full accordance with Humbert’s *Book of*

Duties, one administrator dealt with the hired scribes and then passed the scribes' completed work on to the cantor for correction.

Prior scholarship on the early production of Dominican liturgical manuscripts has corroborated Humbert's treatise. Eleanor Giraud argues, based on analysis of the scribal hands in the surviving Dominican exemplar manuscripts, that precisely this procedure was used to produce liturgical exemplars at St. Jacques in Paris. She suggests that the martyrology portions of both Santa Sabina XIV L 1 and BL Add. 23935 were not given to professional notators. Instead, the unpracticed hand that entered the melodic formulae for reading out the duty roster belongs to a Dominican cantor.²⁸ The production process of the Würzburg ordinarium thus apparently conforms to that of the Parisian exemplars. Not only the music manuscripts but also copies of the ordinarium were carefully checked for accuracy by order-internal experts.

The Würzburg manuscript is neither large nor fancy, but the base text of the ordinarium is highly accurate. Time and care were put into the correction process so that the text matches the exemplars almost precisely. The double round of corrections conforms to the Dominican mandate on book production and accuracy. But once such a perfect copy was made, was it maintained? The early date of this manuscript (the 1260s) enables a thorough case study of the material practices around incorporating the liturgical decisions of the general chapter.

Disunity Through Neglect: Updating the Würzburg Ordinarium

Since the studies by William Bonniwell (1944) and Antolin Gonzalez Fuente (1981), there has not been sustained scholarly attention to the practical, performative, and affective impact of the general chapter's legislation on the Dominican friars' liturgy.²⁹ The legislative changes are important because, as Innocent Smith argues, liturgical ritual, including aspects as minute as posture and melody, reinforced (and reinforces) Dominican identity.³⁰ The liturgical amendments ratified by the general chapter therefore constitute not only rulings on the order's doctrine but also interventions in the embodied performance of specifically Dominican religious selfhood. Whether these changes were implemented and observed

in any given community was not based only on legalistic questions of compliance. The general chapter's liturgical amendments affected the practice of communal spiritual formation.

The Würzburg ordinarium provides a particularly exciting opportunity for examining the way in which innovations confirmed by the general chapter were recorded because neither the Rome nor the London exemplar ordinarium was updated. The Würzburg manuscript, in contrast, contains liturgical changes passed by the general chapter into the early fifteenth century. However, it still lacks a significant number of confirmed liturgical updates. Moreover, close consideration of the scribal hands making marginal emendations reveals that the updates were entered in fits and bursts. The Würzburg ordinarium certainly was not continuously maintained and might not even have been continuously used. The marginal annotations in the Würzburg ordinarium reveal that even communities of friars neglected to keep their ordinarium updated with the general chapter's legislation.

Rupture After a Promising Start

The marginalia of the Würzburg manuscript attest to a brief initial period, during which the general chapter's legislation was conscientiously added. The changes to the ordinarium confirmed by the general chapter from 1262 to 1276 all appear in the margins of the ordinarium ([Table 7](#)). Each entry has a different appearance, even those that were confirmed within one year of each other. This variety indicates that no two entries were written in the same sitting. They likely were entered piecemeal into the ordinarium as they were passed by the general chapter. I do not want to overstate this case: The acts of the general chapter only securely furnish a *terminus ante quem non*.³¹ Nevertheless, the diverse appearance of these entries supports the conclusion that, until 1276, emendations were undertaken frequently, even if not immediately after each confirmation had been ratified.

Table 7. Entries in the Würzburg ordinarium of liturgical legislation up to 1276.

<i>Year of confirmation</i>	<i>Feast and change</i>	<i>Mass</i>	<i>Office</i>
1262	Anthony of Padua (added)	156r	—
1264	Maundy Thursday (ritual changed)	133v	n/a
1265	Edward the Confessor (added)	162r	79r

<i>Year of confirmation</i>	<i>Feast and change</i>	<i>Mass</i>	<i>Office</i>
1266	Peter Martyr (<i>memoriae</i> added)	n/a	68r
1271	Palm Sunday (ritual changed)	128v	n/a
1274	Good Friday (ritual changed)	134r	n/a
1276	Martha (added)	157v	73v

This conscientious practice broke off in 1276 not because the owners of the Würzburg manuscript stopped recording the general chapter’s legislation but rather because the general chapter stopped passing any. In the two decades after confirming Humbert’s Rite in 1256, the general chapter regularly ratified measures that changed the ordinarium. However, between 1276, when the feast of St. Martha was confirmed, and 1298, when the feast of St. Wenceslas received its third ratification, no proposed legislation that affected the ordinarium made it past the inchoation stage (the first step) of the legislative process. This is not to say that the order did not change its liturgy during this period. As discussed in [Chapter 2](#), the Dominican constitutions also included regulations concerning liturgical observance, and the general chapters at the end of the thirteenth century did pass legislation on these matters. For example, the general chapters of 1278–80 voted to add a phrase acknowledging the order’s female branch to the third chapter of the friars’ constitutions, which dealt with liturgical commemorations for the order’s dead: “In the chapter *De suffragiis mortuorum*, where it says ‘each friar priest should celebrate thirty masses a year for our brothers,’ add, ‘and our sisters who have died.’ [In capitulo de suffragiis mortuorum, ubi dicitur, ‘quilibet frater sacerdos celebret .xxx. missas in anno pro fratribus,’ addatur, ‘et sororibus nostris defunctis.’]”³² Such amendments to the constitutions did effect ritual change, but they did not affect the text of the ordinarium.

During the last quarter of the thirteenth century, some Dominican friars may have believed that they could not or should not change the ordinarium because Humbert of Romans’s Rite had been confirmed by papal bull in 1267. It cannot be an accident that, after the order obtained a papal bull in October 1285 explicitly permitting the general chapter to change the liturgy by triple ratification, no fewer than three pieces of legislation bearing on chants and rituals were introduced at the very next session in 1286.³³ Although the order now had papal confirmation that the general chapter’s

actions were legitimate amendments, none of these measures passed as approbations. Similarly, the decade from 1298 through 1308 proved very busy with additions of and alterations to saints' feasts, but only one of the measures proposing ritual change made it all the way through the confirmation stage. Even this measure (ratified 1304–6) barely qualifies as a ritual change, specifying simply that the hebdomadarian (weekly presider) should sit in the left choir if the master general or provincial prior happens to be present.³⁴

The period after 1276 clearly represented a caesura in Dominican liturgical legislation, ending the initial period of frequent adjustment. Perhaps this interruption was a response to the 1267 papal confirmation. Perhaps the Dominican friars simply were finally satisfied with the details of their rite. Whatever the case, the pattern of emendations in the Würzburg ordinarium suggests that the hiatus in legislation after 1276 also effected a rupture in this community's maintenance of their codex.

Fourteenth-Century Focus on the Mass

In contrast to the conscientious and frequent updates of the early period, the liturgical innovations after 1298 appear in fewer scribal hands. The annotations are by no means comprehensive, and the changes are concentrated in the mass section. The broad date ranges of legislation entered by the same hand make it highly implausible that all annotations were made at the time the changes were ratified. These factors suggest that the interventions represent the infrequent work of a few unusually attentive annotators.

For example, one fourteenth-century annotator added sequences for John the Baptist (f. 156v), Peter and Paul (f. 156v), and Mary Magdalene (f. 157v), all elevated to *totum duplex* in 1300, as well as for St. Vincent Martyr (f. 151v), elevated to *totum duplex* in 1348. (Sequences are a genre of chant for mass, which Dominicans were only permitted to sing on feasts of the highest rank, *totum duplex*.) Given the uniform appearance of the sequence marginalia, they were likely all added at the same time. Perhaps when Vincent's feast was elevated, the annotator realized that the sequences for the other feasts had never been added to the ordinarium and rectified the omission. The community may well have been singing sequences for John,

Peter and Paul, and Mary Magdalene. Perhaps they added the melodies to their gradual in 1300, but the ordinarium was not updated until half a century after the legislation was confirmed.

Table 8. Entries in the Würzburg ordinarium by a fourteenth-century annotator.

<i>Year of confirmation</i>	<i>Feast</i>	<i>Mass</i>	<i>Office</i>
1298	Wenceslas (added)	161v	—
1301	Louis IX (added)	160v	—
1331	Michael (<i>memoriae</i> added to octave)	—	79r
1332	Servatius (added)	155v	—
1336	Martial (added)	156r	—
1323, 1327, 1358	Corpus Christi (added + regulation of scheduling conflicts with the Translation of Dominic + scheduling conflicts for feasts falling within the octave)	—	45r
1364	Tuesday commemoration of Dominic	—	74v– 75r
1370	Mary Magdalene (<i>memoriae</i> added to octave)	—	73v

A second fourteenth-century annotator's range is even broader than that of the hand just discussed, adding legislation made between 1298 and 1370 ([Table 8](#)). This annotator added Corpus Christi, as well as the legislation that Dominic be commemorated every Tuesday. These temporally disparate entries obviously were not made by the same person immediately after each change was ratified, as the chance that some friar served as the cantor for seventy-two years is nil. Even the entry for Corpus Christi alone reveals that this important feast was not added to the ordinarium when the general chapter confirmed it in 1323.³⁵ Instead, it was inserted at the earliest after 1358, as the original language describing the feast is recorded in a single coherent block together with two later emendations concerning potential scheduling conflicts, confirmed in 1327 and 1358, respectively.³⁶ At some point after 1358 (or after 1364? or after 1370?), someone added a large number of liturgical changes that he noticed were missing.

This annotator's work was not thorough, however, and the Würzburg ordinarium still lacks a number of liturgical amendments, some of them devotionally significant. St. Adalbert (1353–55) is missing entirely.³⁷ Also absent are the more specific instructions regarding the daily *memoriae* for the Blessed Virgin Mary (1306–8), the addition of daily *memoriae* for Peter Martyr (1318–20), and the *memoriae* during the octave of Thomas Aquinas

(1328–32).³⁸ Omitting the memoriae for Aquinas from the Würzburg manuscript's annotations makes sense, since (although mass for Aquinas was added) the ordinarium lacks the office of his feast. Memoriae were sung after the office hours of vespers and lauds. Without an office to attach them to, there is no place to insert the new memoriae for his octave.

These gaps do not necessarily mean that the community failed to conform to the liturgical mandates released between 1298 and 1370. It could mean instead that the cantors of this community got by without really using the ordinarium after 1276. The community may well have been conscientiously updating its calendars and the liturgical books for performance with new feasts and texts without also annotating the ordinarium. However, other scholars have shown that the Dominican order struggled to disseminate and enforce new liturgies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³⁹ It is quite possible that the community using this ordinarium simply did not do many of the new mandates that it lacks.

In this regard, the preponderance of entries for mass is conspicuous. The only new office added by the ambitious annotator was Corpus Christi; the other entries in the office section are alterations to existing offices. In contrast, he added mass instructions for four new saints but did not include their offices. This failure was certainly not for lack of anything to write. On the contrary, there was rather too much; for example, in 1298 and 1300, the general chapter confusingly disseminated two differing sets of matins lessons for Wenceslas.⁴⁰ One possible conclusion is that this community of friars simply did not celebrate the office hours together and that the cantor therefore had no need of rubrics for the office liturgies. Arguments from absence should be treated cautiously, especially because, as noted above, it was possible to organize an office liturgy from music manuscripts without the aid of the ordinarium. Without the corresponding set of antiphoners from this same friary, one cannot determine with certainty whether they obtained and observed the offices for the new saints. Still, it does not look promising that mass rubrics were added to the ordinarium but office rubrics were not.

After 1276, this codex was updated only sporadically, when it occurred to someone to do so. Although some annotators added old legislation that they noticed had not yet been entered, they did not achieve thoroughness. Several pieces of legislation are left out entirely, as are the offices of several

saints for whom only the mass is recorded. The marginal annotations of the Würzburg ordinarium suggest that the hiatus in liturgical legislation after 1276 induced a change in the manuscript's use, reflected in the interruption of regular updates. The cantors may not have used their ordinarium and, judging from the paucity of office annotations, the community may not have regularly celebrated the office together.

Disunity in Mother Church: The Great Western Schism and Its Aftermath

One further annotator undertook an ambitious round of updates in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, recording a series of liturgical resolutions passed at a watershed moment in the order's history, its reunification after the Great Western Schism (1378–1417). When the papacy split in 1378, the Dominican order likewise split into a Roman and an Avignonese Obedience. Twelve Dominican provinces, including most of Teutonia (the southern German-speaking regions), declared loyalty to the Roman pope; the remaining six pledged allegiance to the Avignon papacy.⁴¹ Each Obedience declared the leaders of the other to be “anti-masters general.”⁴² Secure in their own righteousness, each half of the order continued to convene its own general chapters and ratify its own legislation. The emergence of schismatic legislation represented a wholly new challenge to Dominican liturgical uniformity, which compounded the continuing culture of lax maintenance attested in this ordinarium manuscript.

Schismatic Liturgies

The years after the Schism ended formed a crucial period in Dominican self-imagination, during which the newly reunified general chapter set out to heal the unity of the order by fixing its legislation. After the Schism was resolved by the Council of Constance in 1417, the Dominican order called its first full general chapter in forty years for 1419 in nearby Freiburg im Breisgau. First and foremost, the general chapter's task was to overhaul the constitutions and the ordinarium to harmonize the divergences produced by forty years of independent general chapters in the Roman and Avignonese Obediences. Liturgical harmonization was no small part of this. Twelve

Freiburg inchoations made it all the way to confirmation at the third successive general chapter (1423 in Pavia); eight of them concern the liturgy.⁴³ The post-Schism Dominican general chapters passed numerous measures affecting the liturgy, many of which are recorded in the margins of the Würzburg manuscript, yet, again, not when they were ratified.⁴⁴

It is difficult now to wholly reconstruct the extent of liturgical divergence, since the acts of the Avignonese general chapters only survive piecemeal and those of the Roman Obedience are also incomplete. Some changes clearly were adopted in both parts of the order and would have been reconciled easily. For example, both the Avignonese and the Roman Obediences had instituted the Feast of the Immaculate Conception “by the name of the Sanctification [sub nomine sanctificacionis]” because the order’s theologians continued to oppose the feast’s doctrine on theological grounds.⁴⁵ Most points, however, required deliberation and resolution. For example, both Obediences sought to detach the feast of Peter Martyr’s Translation from the moveable feast of Corpus Christi and assign it to a secure date.⁴⁶ However, the Avignonese Obedience chose June 1, while the Roman Obedience selected May 7.⁴⁷ The reunified general chapter declared May 7 to be the universally valid date for the feast, but repeated admonitions in 1439 and 1447 suggest continuing noncompliance.⁴⁸ However grave the liturgical divergences were, the Dominican order struggled to impose renewed uniformity after the vagaries of independent legislative change.

Some of the divergent legislation was more baldly regional or partisan. Only the Avignonese Obedience elevated St. Blaise to the rank of simplex (his feast had been three lessons).⁴⁹ This discrepancy was not revisited until the 1460s when the general chapter voted to celebrate Blaise at the rank of simplex “throughout our entire order [per totum ordinem nostrum].”⁵⁰ This lagging legislation suggests that Dominican communities in the former Roman and Avignonese Obediences continued to celebrate Blaise at differing ranks for decades. The Dominicans also participated in the widespread competition between the feast of Mary’s Presentation in the Temple, championed in the Avignonese Obedience, and the feast of the Visitation, introduced in the Roman Obedience.⁵¹ Dominicans on either side of the Schism performed their papal politics through regional differences in liturgical practice.

Even changes inspired by universally Dominican devotion might develop in only one Obedience. For example, in 1410, the Roman Obedience spruced up the weekly Tuesday observances for Dominic by dictating that a sequence be sung at mass, something generally only permitted on totum duplex feasts. Adding a sequence to the Tuesday mass for Dominic brought this observance into line with the Saturday mass for the Blessed Virgin, at which sequences were also sung. This addition is thus a significant elevation of Dominic's weekly mass, although its prestige was limited by singing only the last four strophes of *In caelesti hierarchia*, beginning with *Laudes ergo*.⁵² No record of such an innovation survives from the Avignonese Obedience. When the Western Schism ended in 1417, the two halves of the order had numerous liturgical differences, some of which were high-profile controversies (the competition between the Marian feasts of the Visitation and of the Presentation) and some of which were small but still significant (whether to sing a sequence at Tuesday mass for Dominic).

Annotating Amendments After the Schism

A slip in the wording of one emendation suggests that, as with the fourteenth-century additions, there was a significant delay between the legislation of the general chapter and the annotations in the Würzburg manuscript ([Figure 4](#)). Specifically, the note on the feast of the Apparition of Michael (May 8) opens with incorrect information: “In the year 1419 in the general chapter celebrated in Freiburg, this confirmation was made, that on May 8 there should be a feast or one should celebrate the Apparition of Saint Michael the Archangel. [Anno domini M cccc xix Jn Capitulo generali friburgi celebrato confirmacio hec facta est, Quod die octava mensis may ffiat festum seu celebretur Apparicionis sancti michahelis archangeli.]”⁵³ This is not true. The imprecision in the annotation suggests that, like the fourteenth-century entries, these additions also were made some time after the liturgical changes had been ratified by the general chapter.

The Apparition of Michael was one of several liturgical changes that had passed as an inchoation at the general chapter of the Roman Obedience held in Strasbourg in 1417.⁵⁴ Mere months later, Pope Martin V was elected

at the Council of Constance, ending the Western Schism and ushering in a period of readjustment as the Dominican order's Avignonese and Roman Obediences worked toward reunification. As noted above, the general chapter at Freiburg in 1419 was the first general chapter held by the entire reunified order after the Schism. Liturgical measures that had passed as inchoations in 1417 were re-proposed to the full general chapter and again ratified as inchoations, along with several more that had been fully confirmed by the Roman Obedience at some earlier point during the Schism. For example, the most prominent innovation of the Roman Obedience included as an inchoation at Freiburg in 1419 is the Marian Feast of the Visitation, which had earlier been confirmed in 1401.⁵⁵ (The Marian feast of the Presentation, championed in the Avignonese Obedience, is not represented in the edited reunification acts.) Freiburg 1419 was thus a very significant general chapter, but it was impossible for anything to have been confirmed there.

69

dñe quid. V. Tuam coronā. V. Spina. V.
 per hoc. spinis. V. Coronat. V. sub dore
 spinaz. V. felix spina. V. O spinaz. Vires
 Glā. allā. X. plectentes. In laud. a. Ad est
 a. sūmū. a. O qm. a. Pungentes. a. spi
 ne. cap. Egredimini. ymnus. Lauda. V.
 Ors corona. Ad. B. a. Ave spina. ad triam
 cap. Egredimini. V. Tuam coronam. V.
 Glā z honore. Ad sextam. cap. Vidi. V. Glā
 V. posult. Ad nonam. cap. Iudic. V. po
 sult. V. Ors corona. ¶ Ad. V. s. r. ps. a.
 Ad est. ps. Dixit dō. Confitebor. V. s. uir.
 laud. pū. laud. dñm. o. g. cap. Egredi
 mini. j. Etne regi. V. Tuam coronam.
 Ad. a. a. O decus. ¶ Sā iohannis ante
 portam latinam. cap. Qui timet. ad. a.
 a. Inferuentis. oio. Dō qui conspicis. oes
 a de cō uniu. euū glite paschal' tempo
 ris. ¶ Sāz Gordiani. z epy machi. nūz
 oio. da qō. ¶ Sāz Nerei. z achillei. z pa
 chiaci. nūz. oio. Semper nol. ¶ Gaude
 potentiane uirgini. oio. Exaudi nos.
 ¶ Translatione bi dñiq. in tempore pal
 chali. ad. V. s. r. ps. a. Ad est dios. cap.
 O si stella. V. In odus. j. Gaude mater

Anno dñi. a. r. r. p. p. in capto. genali. sibi. m. celebrato. q. firmaco. p. p. p.
 quod die. p. r. d. q. u. a. p. a. m. s. i. a. t. f. p. d. s. e. u. d. e. l. e. b. i. p. t. s. p. i. c. i. o. n. e. p. p. p. a. d.
 i. e. l. i. d. a. r. c. h. i. a. z. l. i. s. i. b. a. t. e. a. a. n. g. e. l. o. r. u. m. e. t. s. i. t. t. o. m. d. u. p. l. e. x. i. s. t. a. d. m. e. b. i. p. p. a. d.
 o. b. p. u. a. t. e. t. f. i. a. t. o. f. f. i. m. d. e. f. i. s. t. o. d. e. d. i. c. a. t. i. o. n. e. u. i. d. e. t. e. s. t. o. b. d. i. n. a. t. i. o. n. e. r. a. m.

Figure 4. Marginal annotation in the Latin Würzburg ordinarium containing a false date for the general chapter where the feast of the Apparition of Michael was confirmed. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q.54, f. 69r.

The annotator's incorrect legislative jargon suggests that the entry was made some time after the actual confirmation of the new feast at Pavia in 1423.⁵⁶ Since the Würzburg ordinarium lacks any mention of the sainted Dominican friar Vincent Ferrer, this further round of updates likely occurred between 1423 and 1455, when Vincent Ferrer was canonized.⁵⁷ Although there are some additional annotations in later hands and although the measures passed at the general chapters in le Mans (1491) and Ferrara (1498) are bound in on a separate sheet at the end of the codex, neither Vincent Ferrer nor Catherine of Siena (canonized 1461) appear anywhere in the manuscript.⁵⁸ The interventions of this fifteenth-century scribe conform to the lax habits attested by the grouped fourteenth-century emendations. At some point, one ambitious annotator reviewed the manuscript and inserted some legislation he noticed was missing, but the community did not have a culture of regular and timely response to the liturgical decisions of the general chapter.

These observations about the early interruption of the community's updating culture have consequences for scholarly efforts to date Dominican liturgical manuscripts by using the acts of the general chapter. As Innocent Smith has observed, dating liturgical manuscripts by the surviving acts is a risky enterprise because "there is reason to doubt the practical force of some early Dominican legislative texts"⁵⁹ and, furthermore, "the dates to which various legislation is assigned in the extant manuscripts may be inaccurate."⁶⁰ Escalating the uncertainty stemming from the flawed records of the acts themselves, the patterns in the legislative emendations to the Würzburg ordinarium reveal a further ground for caution. In principle, one would be tempted to date both the original production of the Würzburg manuscript and the individual marginal entries based on the acts of the general chapter and the years in which liturgical innovations were confirmed. Following Smith, I caution against taking this approach, since—as the grouped marginal annotations in the Würzburg ordinarium demonstrate—we cannot assume that all manuscripts were diligently and continuously updated as soon as new measures were ratified.⁶¹ The best

approximation that the acts of the general chapter can provide is a *terminus ante quem non*.

Fixing a Broken Liturgy: The Nuremberg *correctura*

In the years after 1417, the Dominican general chapter addressed the divergences that had arisen during the Schism. Yet long before that church-wide rift, the Dominicans had already introduced incoherence into their rite. How such problems should be fixed is thoroughly handled in a fifteenth-century treatise, now bound in at the end of the Würzburg ordinarium (Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.q.54, ff. 168r–177r; [Figure 5](#)). Dated to March 1421, the document opens by announcing its function: “Here is the correction of the ordinarium of the order of Friars Preachers [Hec est correctura Ordinarii ordinis fratrum predicatorum].”⁶² In an appendix to his sweeping article on the evolution of the Dominican ordinarium, Raymond Creytens edited this *correctura* from the Würzburg codex as the sole witness.⁶³ I identified a second copy in the Nuremberg manuscript with which I close this chapter, but I have found no evidence of further circulation. Despite its limited dissemination, this *correctura* is an important document in the history of the Dominican liturgy.

This treatise demonstrates how one expert liturgist, engaged in the reunification of the order after the Great Western Schism, strove to produce an ordinarium that was not only fully updated but also fully coherent. His interventions, grounded in deep familiarity with the order’s laws and customs, lay bare the inconsistencies that had been produced by the inattentive legislation of the previous two centuries. The *correctura* reveals the labor of an expert deploying his impressive knowledge, extreme organizational capacity, and analytical mind in a valiant but futile attempt to fix the Dominican liturgy.

Collating Liturgical Legislation

Neither of the two names inscribed on the inside front cover of the codex—Melchior Wagner and Johannes Agricola—likely belong to the compiler. (See [Figure 2](#).) Although the author of the *correctura* is anonymous, he can be securely located in the Nuremberg friary, since he demonstrates familiarity with practices local to the diocese of Bamberg and with the

ordinarium and missals owned by the Nuremberg friary.⁶⁴ His list of legislation covers the period 1262 to 1419 comprehensively, not only the items that are missing from the Würzburg ordinarium. This completeness suggests that he intended his document to have order-wide applicability; it was not an in-house effort to fix his own community's manuscripts.

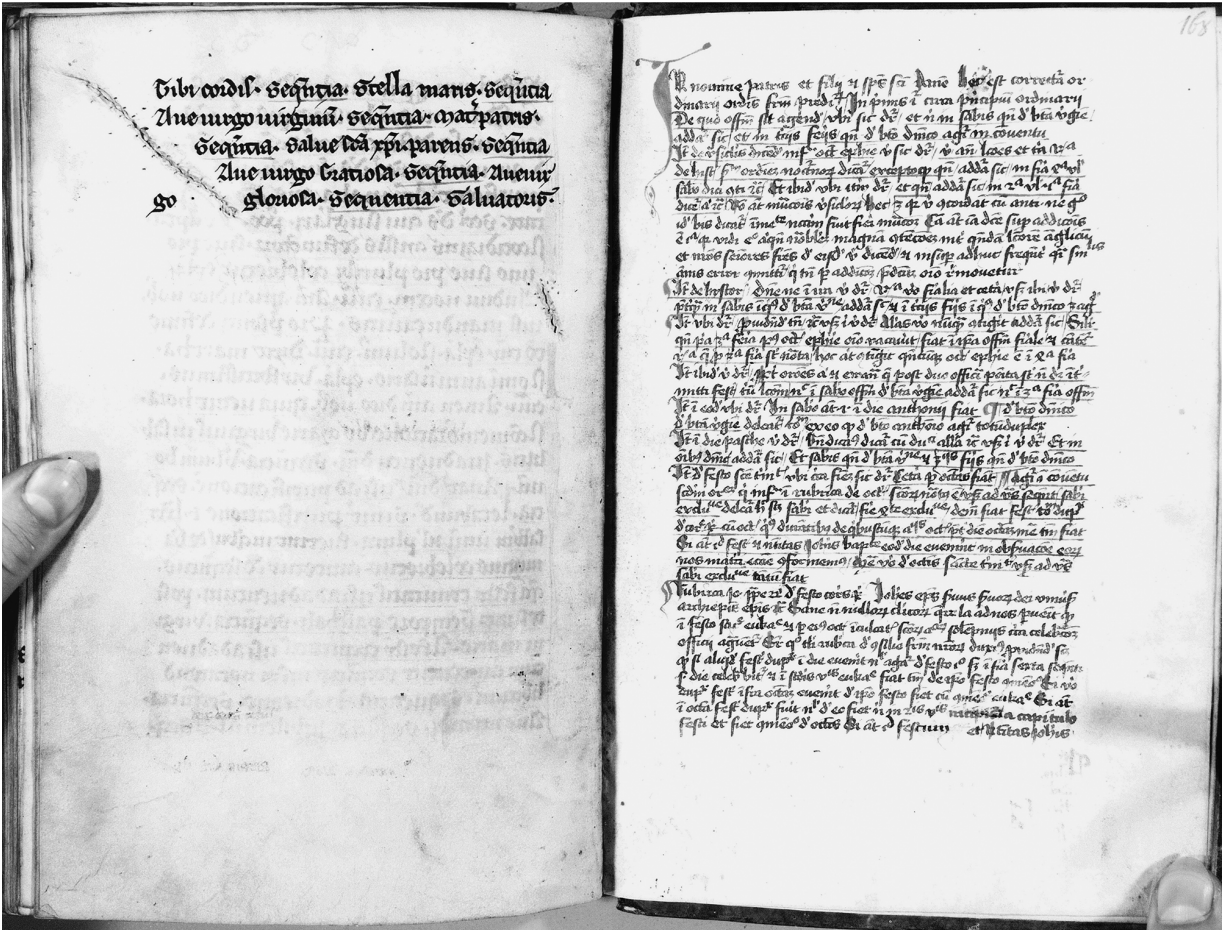


Figure 5. The close of the standard ordinarium and the opening of the Nuremberg *correctura* in the Latin Würzburg ordinarium. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q.54, f. 167v; (facing page) f. 168r.

The colophon dates the text two months before the 1421 general chapter, held in Metz at Pentecost (May 11 in that year). Given that he repeatedly and explicitly states that the general chapter needs to render a proclamation on various issues, these notes were likely compiled to send with the province's representative to the general chapter to prepare him for approval of the liturgical measures introduced by inchoation at Freiburg in

1419.⁶⁵ The 1421 general chapter was composed of provincial priors (the governors of the order's provinces), and the acts record that the provincial prior of Teutonia was in attendance, Friar Giselbert of Utrecht (provincial prior 1408–26, d. 1451).⁶⁶ Did Giselbert visit Nuremberg that spring before traveling to Metz? Did he or his *socius* bring this list with them? Regardless of whether this text's intended purpose was actually fulfilled at the general chapter, it contains the advice of an expert consultant preparing lawmakers to debate and vote on issues that affected the entire Dominican order.

That being said, the *correctura* does not compile the previous liturgical legislation in its state as legislation. Instead, it presents the ordinarium as a coherent whole requiring specific interventions. The work does not proceed chronologically through the liturgical changes in the order in which they were ratified but rather organizes the required emendations according to the arrangement of the ordinarium, chapter by chapter. Thus, for example, the list of saints that need to be added appears twice. This might seem superfluous, but it corresponds to the contents of the ordinarium, which is divided into a section for the office and a section for the mass. The content of the text adheres strictly to the ordinarium and does not incorporate liturgical changes, such as changes in the rank of a saint's feast, that did not require altering the ordinarium's text.⁶⁷ Accordingly, the liturgically relevant changes to the constitutions or other liturgical books, such as the antiphoner, only appear in the questions (*dubia*) appended at the end. The document's purpose of reforming the centrally authorized Dominican ordinarium is thus well served by its organization.

The organization also obscures a probable bias in favor of the Roman Obedience. The *correctura* includes measures ratified only by the general chapters of the Roman Obedience without signaling them as Schism legislation. For example, within the rubrics for the Tuesday observances for Dominic, the chants for mass include a sequence with the incipit *Laudes ergo*. Tuesday mass for Dominic needed to be included in the *correctura*, as this practice was first introduced in 1364, one hundred years after Humbert of Romans's revision of the Dominican Rite was confirmed in 1256. However, that 1364 legislation made no mention of a sequence at mass. The addition of this high-status chant was an innovation of the Roman Obedience in 1410, as noted above. Yet the compiler quietly includes a sequence in the entry without signaling it as a separate piece of legislation

ratified during the Schism. This method conforms to the compiler's aim, which was not to assemble all liturgical legislation ever enacted in its form as legislation but rather to provide instructions for amending the ordinarium in compliance with this legislation.⁶⁸

Expert Opinion: Liturgical Disputes and Outstanding Issues

Occasional asides betray that some matters were subjects of ongoing dispute within the provinces of the Roman Obedience (i.e., not a result of the Schism).⁶⁹ These passages convey the compiler's expertise through the deft confidence with which he approaches the concerns. In one strongly worded passage, the compiler addresses what was evidently a dispute over whether the joyful chant *Te Deum laudamus* should be sung on duplex feasts during Lent. He argues that the ordinarium's current text must be interpreted to mean that *Te Deum laudamus* should not be sung on duplex feasts in Lent. He explains what should be changed in the ordinarium, if the general chapter decides that it should be. But even if it should not (in accordance with what he believes is the correct interpretation), the general chapter should take action. He urges: "Yet if it should not be sung, a clear declaration should be made about all of this, so that it is known for certain what ought to be done, in order to put an end to the contention among the friars, since some contend that it must be done thus, others in a different way. [Si vero cantari non debeat, fiat de hoc omnino declaracio certa, ut pro certo sciatur quid fieri debeat, quatenus contencio fratrum cesset, quia alius sic, alius vero aliter contendit esse faciendum.]"⁷⁰ This comment betrays the breakdown in Dominican liturgical uniformity during his time, which he addresses with the assuredness of an expert.

This point about the *Te Deum* may seem minor, but readers should recall the affective course of the liturgical year outlined in [Chapter 1](#). The period from Septuagesima until Easter was a penitential time, stripped of joyous chants in order to foster the rueful contrition appropriate to the season. If not only totum duplex but also duplex feasts overrode this rule, then the penitential character of the period might begin to erode, making it more challenging for friars to generate the emotions that helped them prepare for Christ's resurrection. The point is devotionally significant. Yet, even with stakes such as these, the Nuremberg corrector's first interest is the

restoration of uniformity. Rather than wielding his expertise to make normative judgments, he interprets the letter of the law as it stands and explains how the wording of the legislation should be changed, if the general chapter wants it otherwise. But he leaves it to the general chapter to make that decision.

This minute attention to the ordinarium's text stands out through more than his legalistic interpretations. The compiler of the *correctura* exceeded his task by pointing out yet further inconsistencies with an extreme attention to detail. Not only did he gather the changes mandated by the general chapters, he also treated the repercussions of those mandated changes that were never explicitly addressed. In these cases, he describes the problem, suggests possible solutions, and requests that the general chapter declare a decision on the matter. For example, he asks whether a memoria should be done for a three-lesson feast that coincides with a duplex feast and then lists the necessary changes to the ordinarium, depending on which option is chosen.⁷¹

The most extraordinary example of these unsolicited interventions is his extensive list of alterations to the mass collects.⁷² The ordinarium's chapter on mass collects provided a bogglingly thorough schedule of the three different prayers to be said during mass on every day of the week, Sunday through Saturday. These weekly rotations changed seasonally for Advent, Christmastide, the octave of Epiphany, from Epiphany to Ash Wednesday, during Lent, and so on. Because each section gave instructions for Tuesdays, the introduction of Tuesday mass for Dominic in 1364 sweepingly affected this chapter of the ordinarium. Yet the general chapter never adapted the rotating schedule of mass collects to accommodate the weekly mass for Dominic. The compiler notes that the chapter "is remarkably defective [notabilis est defectus]."⁷³ He then provides thorough recommendations for fixing it to include not only Tuesday mass for Dominic but also Corpus Christi and its octave, and along the way fixing a couple oversights that had existed in the ordinarium from the very beginning.⁷⁴ Here, too, we see the work of an expert, who knew the Dominican liturgy inside out. This Nuremberg friar not only confidently intervenes in ongoing debates but also brings up neglected issues, drawing on his liturgical expertise to advise the general chapter.

Empresses and Shoes: Dominican Liturgy in Local Context

The Nuremberg treatise points out further disunity in the Dominican liturgy with a list of twenty-five *dubia* that the general chapter must resolve, since “even among the senior friars there generally is a great and notable disagreement, with some saying that it is to be done thus, some saying differently [inter fratres eciam seniores magna et notabilis plerumque extat altercacio, aliis sic, aliis vero aliter dicentibus esse faciendum].”⁷⁵ Many of these questions still pertain strictly to the ordinarium, but several address issues of wording in the constitutions or in other liturgical books. Two of the questions raised reveal the Nuremberg compiler’s experience not only with Dominican liturgy but also with the practices of the secular churches in the Bamberg diocese, in which Nuremberg lay. These points also reveal the extent to which regional practice influenced the liturgy of Dominican communities in both licit and illicit ways, undermining the uniformity of the Dominican Rite.

One telling example pertains to the texts in the antiphoner. In this case, the order’s rules were quite clear, but they simply did not work for the local situation in Nuremberg. The Dominican ordinarium explicitly permitted communities to celebrate feasts and saints that were not approved by the order but which were important in the city or diocese. In compliance with local practice, the Nuremberg friars observed the feast of Empress Kunigunde (r. 1002–24, d. 1033), co-founder of the Bamberg diocese with her husband, Emperor Henry II (r. 1002–24). Kunigunde had been canonized in 1200 and her remains transferred to a place of veneration within the Bamberg Cathedral in 1201.⁷⁶ Accordingly, religious communities within the diocese celebrated not only a main feast for Kunigunde (March 3) but also the feast of her Translation (September 9). Dominican friars and sisters of the Bamberg diocese were permitted to celebrate her feasts at the rank of simplex, using the order’s provided common of a virgin. This permission created a centrally authorized variability between Dominican houses, but it generated a further problem for the Dominicans of the Bamberg diocese.

As the compiler explains, the generic commons material that the order provided for different classes of saint did not cover all possibilities.

Specifically, the order's centrally provided office texts for the common of a virgin are not entirely appropriate for women who were not martyred.

Since our order does not yet have a feast of any virgin who is not a martyr that is celebrated as a simplex or greater feast, and since in many places the feasts of such virgins are celebrated solemnly both in choir and in public, which also the friars for the sake of conformity need to celebrate, especially since the rubrics of the ordinarium concede this, it should be asked what in the first responsory should be said instead of: "for whose love you spilled your blood"; similarly, in the fourth responsory, instead of where it says: "you were made pleasing to God through struggle," and in the verse of the same where it says: "laughed at torments, trampled oppressions." Or whether for these responsories some other two integral responsories are to be said, which could be from Agnes's *historia*, it seems. Therefore, it should be determined what is to be said or how it is to be changed.

Cum Ordo noster nondum habeat festum alicuius virginis non martyris quod sub festo simplici vel supra celebretur, cumque in plerisque locis, festa talium virginum solempniter tam in choro quam in foro celebrentur, que etiam fratres, propter conformitatem, necesse extat celebrare, presertim cum rubrica Ordinarii hoc concedat, queritur quid in primo responsorio dicendum sit pro eo quod dicitur: "pro cuius amore sanguinem tuum fudisti"; similiter in quarto responsorio pro eo quod dicitur: "grata facta es a Domino in certamine," et in versu eiusdem pro eo quod dicitur: "tormenta derisit, premia calcavit"; vel an pro eisdem responsoriis alia duo integra responsoria sint dicenda, quod fieri posset de sancte Agnetis historia, ut videtur. Igitur quid dicendum vel qualiter mutandum sit, determinetur.⁷⁷

For the friar compiling this document from his community's archive in Nuremberg, this question was no mere abstract and idle thought. After Henry's death, Empress Kunigunde lived out her days peacefully in Kaufungen, the Benedictine convent she had founded, never having spilled her blood for the faith, not even in childbirth.⁷⁸ Singing the order's generic

liturgy for a virgin to commemorate Empress Kunigunde simply did not make sense. The fact that the compiler does not mention Kunigunde explicitly in this passage indicates his aim of universal applicability. Surely other regions also venerated female saints who had not died violent deaths, and the Dominican communities there were in a similar bind. Nevertheless, his concern about it reveals his careful, expert attention to liturgical text, applied here to ensure proper honor for the empress. Local pieties affected the way Dominican communities celebrated their liturgies, and the general chapter, he contended, needed to accommodate this fact and incorporate broader options for regional variance.

Similarly, a minor point in the *dubia* encapsulates my discussion of updates to liturgical manuscripts, inattentive legislation on the part of the general chapter, and issues of conformity with regional liturgies. The question concerns a small aspect of the ritual Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday—namely, whether in conformity with the practice of secular priests (i.e., priests who do not belong to a religious order) the ceremonial officiants within Dominican communities should remove their shoes. As the compiler requests: “Item, it should be asked whether on Good Friday the prior and the two other priests who sing ‘Popule meus’ should take their shoes off, in the custom of the secular priests, because the rubrics of some missals, but not all, mention this. [Item queritur: an in Parasceve, prior et alii duo sacerdotes qui ‘Popule meus’ cantant, debeant se discalciare more secularium sacerdotum, eo quod rubrica aliquorum librorum missalium, licet non omnes, de hoc facit mencionem.]”⁷⁹ This question specifically concerns the *Improperia*, a complex musical ritual in which two priests held the cross by its arms before the community and sang a series of reproaches in the voice of Christ: “My people, what have I done to you? [Popule meus, quid feci tibi?]” Two deacons responded with a threefold *Agios* in Greek, before the full community sang a threefold *Sanctus* in Latin.⁸⁰ It was common to perform this ceremony shoeless. The late thirteenth-century liturgical commentator William Durandus explains that the Adoration of the Cross is performed with “naked feet” to show that Christians suffer with Christ who suffered for them.⁸¹ The ceremony participated in the penitential heightening of liturgy just before Easter, and removing one’s shoes supported the affective work of the ritual through both symbolism and real discomfort.

Accordingly, the text of the Dominican ordinarium propagated in 1256 mandated that the entire community should perform most of the Good Friday liturgy shoeless. At the sound of the board (during the three days before Easter, the church bells were not rung), the community assembled in the chapter house “shoeless [discalceati].”⁸² However, after the Adoration of the Cross, the prior and the two priests who held the cross retired to the sacristy where they changed their vestments and put on their shoes: “After the prior has handed the cross to the sacristan, he and his ministers and the two priests who sing the verse go into the sacristy and, with those two removing the sacred vestments, the prior and ministers put their shoes on. [Postquam autem Prior Crucem Sacristae tradiderit, ipse et Ministri ejus et duo Presbyteri qui cantaverunt versus, in Sacristiam vadant, et illis duobus deponentibus sacras vestes, Prior et Ministri se calceent.]”⁸³ The rest of the community continued directly into vespers and did not put their shoes back on until it had concluded: “When vespers is finished, the friars put their shoes on. [Finitis Vesperis, Fratres se calceent.]”⁸⁴ By beating the board (which normally called the community to a member’s deathbed) and removing their shoes, Dominicans evoked the mournful affect of Good Friday through ritual.

In the Dominican order, there was originally no difference in footwear between any of these ritual actors during the Adoration of the Cross. However, as I noted in [Chapter 2](#), this mandate to celebrate Good Friday shoeless instantly provoked attempts to change it. At the general chapter held in Florence in 1257—that is, in the very first year after Humbert’s rite was formally confirmed—an inchoation passed to delete the entire passage about entering the chapterhouse shoeless.⁸⁵ The following general chapter of 1258 in Toulouse passed a new inchoation to delete not the entire passage but only the word “shoeless.” This measure was approved in 1259, but it never received the necessary confirmation to pass into law.⁸⁶ After failing in 1260, the proposal was revived by a general chapter again held in Florence, in 1272, this time attentively proposing to remove both the word “shoeless” at the beginning of the rubrics for Good Friday and the instructions to put their shoes back on after vespers: “In the ordinarium, in the liturgical rubrics for Good Friday, delete where it says ‘shoeless’ and below in the same passage where it says ‘put their shoes on.’ [In ordinario in rubrica officii diei parasceves, ubi dicitur ‘discalciati’ et infra in eodem

‘calcient se,’ deleatur.]”⁸⁷ This version of the measure passed into law in 1274. One can only imagine the motivations for moderating the penitential discomfort of the ceremony by allowing Dominicans to keep their shoes on.

After 1274, Dominicans were no longer required to remove their shoes for the Adoration of the Cross. The early annotators of the Würzburg ordinarium dutifully marked the appropriate passages for deletion, in strict compliance with the general chapter’s legislation (f. 134r and 138r). However, the general chapter never attended explicitly to the fact that the prior and ministers were instructed to put their shoes back on after the Adoration of the Cross, before the rest of the community did. This rubric survived both in the ordinarium and in the conventual missal, despite the fact that there was now no indication regarding when these three people should take their shoes off in the first place. Through insufficient attention to the holistic system of Dominican ritual, the general chapter had introduced internal incoherence into the ordinarium.

Tellingly, the author of the 1421 *correctura* remarks on a diversity in the order’s liturgical books regarding whether anyone should be shoeless for the Adoration of the Cross. Evidently, some friars had understood the 1274 legislation to mean that no one had to take their shoes off at all. Others, however, believed that the prior and ministers who held the cross during the ritual still had to take their shoes off, even though the rest of the community did not. This camp’s position was supported by the fact that some secular priests performed the Adoration of the Cross shoeless. By 1421, the original intentions of the delegates who had passed the 1274 legislation were lost to time. According to the compiler of the *correctura*, in order to resolve the diversity of practice throughout the order, a new declaration interpreting the ordinarium was necessary, or perhaps even a new legislative amendment to remove the extra lingering “put their shoes on,” which had been incoherent and (arguably but maybe not actually!) obsolete for the last one hundred and fifty years.

The 1421 *correctura* thus confirms several observations suggested by the annotations in the Würzburg ordinarium with which it was bound. First, not every change confirmed by the general chapter made it into every copy of the ordinarium, nor apparently even into every record of the acts. This produced divergences between different copies of the same liturgical book. Because the general chapter had been busily passing legislation for two

hundred years, recourse could no longer be had to the exemplars for resolution. The order's first mechanism for maintaining uniformity in the Dominican Rite—careful correction against exemplars—was nullified by the order's second mechanism for maintaining uniformity—the legislative control of the general chapter. Second, the major changes introduced in the fourteenth century, in particular the feast of Corpus Christi and the weekly Tuesday observances for Dominic, had far-reaching, unforeseen repercussions that were never fully addressed in the legislation. Through such major innovations, but also minor ones like the Good Friday shoes, internal contradictions crept into the ordinarium. Third, since Dominican friars were itinerant and their communities were usually located in cities, they had a great deal of exposure to the practices of other religious communities and they adapted and adopted local rituals observed in non-Dominican churches. To avoid scandal, the order permitted communities to conform to local practice, legitimizing ritual variation from region to region and even city to city. Through mechanisms built into the order's liturgical structures from the beginning, the uniformity of the Dominican Rite slowly eroded.⁸⁸

By the fifteenth century, differences in liturgical practice had become quite pronounced and even contentious among certain groups of Dominican friars. The disunity and disputes arose from a variety of sources: unclear rubrics, the Great Western Schism, inconsistent application of legislative decisions, and even permissible adaptations to the liturgies of the local city or diocese. The *correctura* displays a remarkable degree of expertise and confidence, as this anonymous Dominican friar carefully explains how to fix the Dominican liturgy. Yet his comments were merely recommendations, and there is no evidence that his rigorous work was ever implemented. Given all these uncertainties and shortcomings, Dominicans copying new ordinarium manuscripts in the mid-fifteenth century were faced with a dilemma: Should one adhere rigidly to the text of an exemplar? Or should one adjust the ordinarium to fix its inconsistencies?

Fixing the Liturgy in the Fifteenth Century: The Nuremberg Ordinarium

A second copy of the 1421 *correctura* survives in a manuscript, the primary content of which is likewise an ordinarium (Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VII, 17). This fifteenth-century manuscript allows us to assess the Dominican order's two mechanisms for liturgical control—correcting from exemplars and enacting change through legislation—two hundred years after these practices were instituted. Close analysis reveals no evidence of a correction process. Many legislative amendments were incorporated directly into the text, yet it is still incomplete. The Nuremberg ordinarium is better updated than the older Würzburg copy, but it still did not contain everything that liturgical administrators needed to plan their community's liturgy. The manuscript attests to the order's enduring difficulty with producing accurate and correct *ordinaria*.

An Omnibus Liturgical Compendium for Women

This Nuremberg manuscript represents one of numerous liturgical manuals owned by the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg, which I discuss further in [Chapters 4](#) through [6](#). The ownership mark at the beginning of the manuscript reads: “The present book belongs to the convent of sisters of Saint Katherine of the Order of Preachers in Nuremberg. [Presens liber pertinet Ad Monasterium Sororum Sancte Katherine. Ordinis predicatorum in nürnbergga.]” However, this inscription reveals that the manuscript was not produced for the convent of St. Katherine. The word “sisters [sororum]” is original, but “Katherine” has been inscribed over clear signs of erasure and the reference to Nuremberg is added in a later hand. The manuscript, or at least the bulk of it, was produced after the mid-1450s, perhaps in the mid-1460s. The liturgies for Vincent Ferrer, both office and mass, are included within the main text blocks of the respective *Sanctorale* sections, placing the production date long enough after his canonization (1455) for his liturgy to be firmly established and disseminated.⁸⁹ Of the feasts introduced after Vincent Ferrer, only St. Anne (1465) appears at all and then only in the mass section with a gap left for her mass, which was never filled in.⁹⁰ The text was thus likely established in the early to mid-1460s. The ordinarium codex itself does not provide any further clues to its production

or its use before it came to the convent of St. Katherine, or even when this transfer may have happened.

This codex was conceived as a volume offering a more complete repertory of liturgical instructions than even the standard ordinarium could offer. Following the ordinarium are four additional texts: the ritual instructions from the beginning of the conventual missal, those from the private missal, the 1421 *correctura*, and an alphabetized thematic index.⁹¹ The rubrics from the missals supply some important ritual actions that are not duplicated in Humbert's ordinarium, such as the ritual movements and gestures of the mass and the rites for communion.⁹² The combination of texts contained in the Nuremberg manuscript was conceived and executed as a complementary whole, although at least three scribes contributed to the labor.⁹³ All four additional texts are in the same hand that copied the bulk of the office section and the mass *Sanctorale*. Although the structure of the quires is extremely irregular, catchwords and quire numbers lingering on the bottom margins suggest an attention to the structure of the volume as a whole. Finally, the index refers to passages by folio number and by letter, keying blocks of text precisely by means of the letters that run throughout the manuscript's margins in a repeating series. The rubrics from both the conventual and the private missals are included in the index, but the 1421 *correctura* is not. The addition of a functional index supported this ordinarium's use as a complete reference volume for Dominican liturgical action, both mass and office.

No Exemplar, No Correction

In contrast to the careful quality control evident in the Würzburg ordinarium, the Nuremberg manuscript shows no similar signs of careful correction against an exemplar at the time of production. Some few corrections were undertaken. For example, a marginal annotation to the Office of Pentecost supplies some text that was omitted due to an eye-skip error, jumping from the hymn for lauds directly to the hymn for terce.⁹⁴ However, some eye-skip errors remain unremarked and unamended. For example, the Mass for the Exaltation of the Cross incorrectly lists the post-communion prayer *Quaesumus* instead of the appropriate one, *Refecti*. *Quaesumus* is the post-communion for Cornelius and Cyprian, who are

commemorated on the same day as the Exaltation of the Cross. The scribe jumped from the post-communion for the Exaltation directly to the post-communion for the saints Cornelius and Cyprian, skipping the rest of their prayers.⁹⁵ If the mistake was ever noticed, it was never fixed. In the Nuremberg manuscript, corrections of transcription errors are not systematic and give the impression that they were corrected if and only if they happened to be noticed. No thorough quality-control review was undertaken.

This being said, the ordinarium text of the Nuremberg manuscript is generally quite accurate. There are overall fewer scribal errors in the Nuremberg ordinarium than in the first transcription level of the Würzburg ordinarium. This degree of initial accuracy might suggest that the scribes were members of the order and not external professionals unfamiliar with the Dominican Rite. Further close paleographical comparison with other surviving manuscripts could determine whether Friar Matthias Weinsperger contributed to its production. Weinsperger is attested as the librarian and cantor of the Nuremberg Dominican friary up to 1473, and his connection with the local convent is witnessed by the surviving German-language book that he gave to Sister Margareta Vernan.⁹⁶ Whoever copied this manuscript, the absence of evidence for correction against an exemplar should not surprise. The exemplar manuscripts had not been updated, and the divergences of the Great Western Schism had never been resolved. It is not at all obvious what a person producing a Dominican ordinarium in 1460 should even have used as a corrective exemplar in theory. The Dominican order's first mechanism for enforcing liturgical uniformity was defunct.

A (Mostly) Fixed Ordinarium

In contrast, the manuscript attests to greater success in the order's second mechanism for liturgical uniformity and control. The legislation of the general chapters was incorporated into the text of the Nuremberg ordinarium itself, and, furthermore, some passages also even include the suggestions of the 1421 *correctura*. All of the saints added by formal action of the general chapter from St. Anthony of Padua (1262) through Vincent Ferrer (1455) were incorporated into the body of the text. More impressive, the schedule of collects at the beginning of the ordinarium's mass section

was painstakingly adjusted according to the suggestions of the *correctura* in order to accommodate mass for Dominic on Tuesdays throughout the year.⁹⁷ The text of the Nuremberg ordinarium was updated with an impressive degree of thoroughness.

These adjustments, however, were not mechanical. Curiously, despite the fact that the manuscript also contains the *correctura* as part of its original conception, the adjustments to the mass collects occasionally differ. For example, the *correctura* instructs that, if both a feast and a memoria fall on the Tuesday after Trinity Sunday, a collect for the memoria should replace the collect for Dominic: “But if there is a feast, the second collect will be for the octave of the Trinity, the third for St. Dominic, or for the memoria, if one occurs. [Si autem festum fuerit, secunda oratio de octavis trinitatis erit, tertia de beato dominico, uel de memoria si occurrerit.]”⁹⁸ In contrast, the main text of the ordinarium within the same manuscript says to add a fourth collect: “But if there is a feast, the second collect will be for the octave of the Trinity, the third for St. Dominic. And if a memoria also coincides with the feast, the fourth should be said for it. [Si autem festum fuerit, secunda oratio de octavis sancte trinitatis erit, tertia de beato dominico. Quod si etiam memoria cum festo occurrerit, quarta dicatur de ipsa.]”⁹⁹ Even when they do not agree with the proposals of the *correctura*, the interventions are extensive and fine-grained. As noted above, updating the mass collects in this comprehensive manner required a deep attention to detail. Evidently, a second liturgical expert worked in Nuremberg in the decades following production of the 1421 *correctura*.

Nevertheless, the Nuremberg ordinarium still displays many of the faults that are evident in the Würzburg annotations. As in the Würzburg ordinarium, some of the newer saints only appear in the Sanctorale for the mass and are missing from the section on the office. The Nuremberg ordinarium comprehensively includes the fourteenth-century additions that are spotty in the Würzburg manuscript. However, the text shows poor integration of the saints handled in the reunification legislation of 1419–23. Of the feasts added by these general chapters, the Apparition of Michael and the Visitation have both an office and a mass.¹⁰⁰ However, Barbara, the Ten Thousand Martyrs, and the Sanctification/Conception only appear in the mass portion of the ordinarium.¹⁰¹ The thoroughness of the updates is

extremely uneven, impressively detailed in some passages, and neglected in others.

The most prominent cases of neglect are two major fourteenth-century innovations, the masses of which are utterly absent from the Nuremberg ordinarium: the weekly Tuesday mass for Dominic and the feast of Corpus Christi. An entire Office for Dominic on Tuesdays appears within the main text block just before the Saturday Office for the Blessed Virgin, yet there is no corresponding entry in the mass section of the ordinarium.¹⁰² Disappointingly, the absence of rubrics for Dominic's Tuesday mass makes it impossible to check whether the sequence *Laudes ergo* was inserted in accordance with the legislation of the Roman Obedience. Similarly, the Office for Corpus Christi appears where it belongs, just after Trinity Sunday, but the mass section of the ordinarium simply contains the text propagated by Humbert of Romans in 1256, continuing from Trinity Sunday directly on to the first Sunday after Trinity.¹⁰³ A later hand added "In festo corporis xpi" in the bottom margin with no further detail. This lack contrasts with the Würzburg ordinarium, which includes the entire Mass of Corpus Christi in a marginal annotation.¹⁰⁴ The absence of these two masses is somewhat odd, given that the schedule of mass collects was thoroughly updated to accommodate both Corpus Christi and Dominic's Tuesday observances.

Moreover, although this is not technically an issue of updating, no regional saints at all are included. Whereas the Würzburg ordinarium at least has the local feast of St. Afra in a marginal annotation, none of the Bamberg and Nuremberg regional saints (such as Emperor Henry II, Empress Kunigunde, and St. Sebald) appear in the Nuremberg ordinarium. Although regional saints did not technically belong in the standard Dominican ordinarium, this lack is notable because these local saints are incorporated directly into the German-language ordinarium that the sisters of St. Katherine produced for themselves. Moreover, as I discuss further in [Chapter 4](#), the sisters' own German version explicitly addresses the problem with the texts for the common of a virgin on Empress Kunigunde's feast, which the compiler of the *correctura* raised. There was an awareness in Nuremberg from at least 1421 on that the order's liturgy was inappropriate for Empress Kunigunde and the sisters in the convent had a solution, yet this ordinarium lacks any mention of it.

In sum, portions of the fifteenth-century Nuremberg Latin ordinarium are revised in impressively thorough ways. New saints' feasts that had been introduced up to and including Vincent Ferrer are (mostly) present with full instructions for office and mass. Several sections were adjusted in accordance with the 1421 *correctura* to remedy inconsistencies caused by the introduction of Corpus Christi and the Tuesday observances for Dominic. However, some saints are missing from the office portion and, crucially, mass for Corpus Christi and for Dominic's Tuesday observances are not present even in marginal annotations. Furthermore, whereas the Würzburg ordinarium at least contains mass for Afra in a marginal annotation, the Nuremberg ordinarium has no regional saints at all, even though there was a documented awareness in Nuremberg that Empress Kunigunde required special treatment. Despite the updates that it does have, as well as the inclusion of the *correctura* and the rubrics from the conventual missal, this codex still did not contain everything that was needed to plan the liturgy in the location where it was produced at the time when it was produced. Difficulty with disseminating and incorporating the liturgical legislation of the general chapter continued to plague Dominican ordinaria through the end of the Middle Ages.

Conclusion: The Lingering Schism

Despite the Dominican general chapter's efforts, the divergences that had emerged during the Great Western Schism were not quickly resolved. In 1431, more than a decade after the reunification, the general chapter commissioned two friars to review the differences in the order's "rubrics and constitutions [rubricarum et constitutionum]" and to present a harmonization at the next general chapter. Friar Johannes Nider, the prior of Basel, was selected to represent the Roman Obedience, and Friar Guido Flamochetti, the prior of Cambrai, represented Avignon.¹⁰⁵ Nider and Flamochetti seem to have reached a satisfactory resolution for the constitutions, but the successive general chapters reveal no indication that they managed to harmonize the Dominican Rite.¹⁰⁶

Differences in regional piety that had arisen during the Schism became tolerated, but the geographic reach of certain practices is unclear.¹⁰⁷ Throughout the fifteenth century, the records concerning the feast of the

Visitation (the Marian feast championed in the Roman Obedience) explicitly note that such legislation applies to the provinces where it is customary to celebrate the feast.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, as late as 1508, the general chapter released a declaration permitting communities to observe the feasts of Mary's Presentation and Mary's Piety "in places where they are commonly celebrated [in locis, ubi communiter celebrantur]."¹⁰⁹ The feast of Mary's Presentation was not formally propagated throughout the entire order until 1518.¹¹⁰ Despite sporadic attempts to remedy the situation, regional differences in liturgical practice lingered well into the sixteenth century.

The incompleteness of the surviving acts obscures when resolutions did succeed. After 1417, the edited acts of the general chapter never address the question of sequences during Tuesday mass for Dominic. The practice did eventually spread throughout the entire order. Friar Juan of Palencia's edition of the ordinarium, printed in Salamanca in 1576, includes the sequence *Laudes ergo* in its entry for Dominic's Tuesday commemorative mass.¹¹¹ A thorough study of fifteenth-century French and Iberian ordinaria is required to shed light on how and when these divergences were reconciled in the former Avignonese Obedience. Yet, we may not find a unified picture there either. Juan of Palencia's 1576 ordinarium closes with nineteen pages of printed "annotations" containing his commentary on internal incoherences and unclear instructions—his version of our Nuremberg friar's 1421 *dubia*. One hundred and fifty years after the Nuremberg compiler had completed his *correctura*, the general chapter still had not managed to fix the extremely complex system of the Dominican liturgy.

When the Dominican order propagated a uniform rite in 1256–59, it instituted two mechanisms for centralized control of its liturgy. First, all new manuscripts were to be carefully corrected against designated exemplar manuscripts and, second, liturgical innovations could only be undertaken by threefold ratification of the general chapter (inchoation, approbation, confirmation). The material conditions and the textual state of the two ordinarium manuscripts examined here reveal how these mechanisms broke down over time. Whereas the Würzburg ordinarium (early 1260s) bears evidence of careful correction against an exemplar, the Nuremberg ordinarium (early 1460s) has no systematic corrections. Indeed, given the

amount of liturgical legislation in the intervening two centuries, there was likely no accurate exemplar in existence. Neither the Würzburg nor the Nuremberg manuscript contains a complete record of all the general chapter's liturgical legislation ratified between 1262 and 1465. Finally, as the author of the *correctura* makes blatantly explicit, even if one managed to procure an ordinarium that wholly complied with all changes legislated by the general chapter, this document would still be plagued by uncertainties and internal inconsistencies.

These two ordinaria and the *correctura* with which they are transmitted showcase the attempts of Dominican liturgical experts to fix the ordinarium in response to the liturgical change of the late Middle Ages. What neither document even attempts to address is the other problem with the ordinarium identified in [Chapter 2](#). The Latin-language ordinarium centrally propagated by the Dominican order contains a number of rituals that Dominican sisters were forbidden from performing as described, either because they were strictly enclosed or because they were women. These issues were addressed in the German translations of the Dominican ordinarium.

CHAPTER 4

Gendered Prohibitions and Regional Diversity in Women's Liturgies

The German-Language Ordinaria

At the back of a worn manuscript in Munich, an uneven hand in an East Swabian dialect addressed a note as much to me as to any of the others who have held this manuscript in the last six hundred years: “All who see, read, or use this ordinarium should know that Priest Albrecht, who was [?] chaplain in Stetten, donated to the convent in praise of God, for his soul, and for the consolation of his father's and mother's souls, so that one will more gladly commemorate them and pray to God. [Alle die dis ordinarium sehent, lessent, oder brüchen, die sun wissen, das pfaffe albreht, der súlhcher capplan ze stetten wasse, haut golten dem couent got ze lobe vnt siner sele vnt vatter vnt müther ze troste irran selan, das manr dest gern na gedenke vnt got fur bitthe.]”¹ Who wrote this note? Was it Albrecht himself? Was it the chantress who used this ordinarium? How did the sisters in Stetten, located forty miles south of Stuttgart, get their hands on a German translation of the Dominican ordinarium composed in a Zurich dialect? Was it Albrecht who gave this ordinarium to the convent of Maria Medingen in Bavaria, where it remained until the nineteenth century?

Another manuscript containing the same version of the ordinarium, copied a hundred years later, provides some closer details but leaves yet other questions. The scribe himself wraps up his German text with a Latin colophon: “Here ends the ordinarium [*notula*], written by me, Friar Johannes Höfflin, of the Freiburg friary, lector in the Zurich friary, finished

on St. Elizabeth's Day in the year 1477. [Explicit hec notula Scripta per me fratrem johannem höfflin conuentus friburgensis, lectorem conuentus thuricensis, et finita in die Sancte Elyzabeth Anno domini m cccc lxxvij.]”² The manuscript was owned by the community of St. Verena in Zurich, which lived out a Dominican identity but was never formally incorporated into the order.³ Who was Friar Johannes Höfflin to the sisters of St. Verena? A confessor? A relative? Had he been authorized to share this document of the order's governance with a convent that was not officially part of the Dominican family? Or did he go rogue to support the community of women he served?

This chapter turns to German translations of the Dominican ordinarium that sought to fix it for the use of sisters. As discussed in [Chapter 2](#), the Dominican general chapter never propagated a uniform and centrally disseminated sisters' ordinarium, as they had for the rule and the constitutions. Many of the rituals described in the friars' standard ordinarium did not accommodate the circumstances of women's liturgy, especially with regard to enclosure and the prohibition on altar service. Translators accordingly adjusted the liturgical rubrics to reflect these restrictions. Only one of the manuscripts I examine has previously received scholarly attention, and it was not recognized as being part of a wider tradition.⁴ And this tradition is wide indeed. Over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Dominican ordinarium was translated into German no fewer than five separate times. Each translator approached his adaptation with a different level of attentiveness to the text, a different degree of expertise, and a different set of ideas about what women needed to know in order to organize their community's liturgy. The result was a diversity of liturgical regulations for Dominican sisters.

All of the German-language ordinaria were intended for women's use and were (more or less) adapted to the circumstances of women's liturgies, so it is tempting to use them as sources for women's lives. The fourteenth century, when many of these translations were undertaken, used to be considered a time of decline for Dominican sisters, so evidence from this period is particularly valuable.⁵ Yet the notes about Priest Albrecht and Friar Johannes Höfflin reveal a characteristic shared across this corpus: These texts point overwhelmingly to men as scribes, translators, and disseminators. We cannot be sure how much these friars truly knew about

the liturgies of the women for whom they wrote. Therefore, as this chapter demonstrates, these translations should be treated with extreme caution in attempts to reconstruct the real practices of Dominican sisters. Nevertheless, these ordinaria formed the basis on which women planned the liturgy of their communities. The directoria and other manuals discussed in [Chapters 5](#) and [6](#) were designed by women as supplements to the ordinarium manuscripts addressed here. In order to understand what women were trying to accomplish by writing those manuals, we must first understand the foundation on which they grounded their expertise: the German-language ordinarium translations provided to them by their friars, confessors, and chaplains.

The German-language ordinaria play a further important role for understanding the medieval Dominican liturgy. While the gendered context of these translations demands attention, they should not be viewed as sources only of women's history. Women's communities were part of the order, and women's liturgies form part of the Dominican liturgical system. Beyond laying bare the aspects of Dominican ritual that were closed to women, the ordinarium translations and the manuscripts transmitting them expose where and how divergences arose. The ways in which the translators and scribes altered or supplemented the ordinarium reveal what they perceived to be lacking or obsolete, tracing the process of Dominican liturgical change through a trail of annotations. These documents thus confirm and reinforce the evidence from the Latin ordinaria examined in [Chapter 3](#). Just as the uniformity of the Dominican Rite was disrupted by poor dissemination of the general chapter's legislation and by the Great Western Schism, liturgical diversity likewise arose from the order's failure to provide an ordinarium for sisters and from the friar translators' attempts to fix it.

Diversity Emerges: The German Ordinarium Translations

Eleven manuscripts (ten codices and one fragment) contain German translations of the standard Dominican ordinarium in five different recensions. All are easily recognizable as direct translations of the Latin ordinarium, but the versions differ enough from each other in dialect, phrasing, and content that they demonstrably reflect independent translation

events. I have designated each translation by the city most prominently represented in its current transmission: Speyer, Colmar, Zurich, Nuremberg, and Freiburg.

The two oldest translations each survive in only a single manuscript. The Speyer translation was likely produced for the convent of St. Mary Magdalene on the Hasenpfuhl shortly after the community was incorporated into the Dominican order in 1304.⁶ The sole manuscript of the Colmar translation, produced in the mid-fourteenth century, was probably owned by the convent of Unterlinden in Colmar. The Zurich translation was likewise undertaken in the mid-fourteenth century, either in or for the convent of Oetenbach in Zurich. Unlike the first two, it continued to be copied, updated, and disseminated into the late fifteenth century. The Nuremberg translation was made around 1429 by the Dominican friars in Nuremberg, when the local convent (St. Katherine) was reformed to the Observance. Finally, an undatable fifth translation survives from the southwest, with two of the three witnesses from Freiburg im Breisgau.

Speyer

1. Göttingen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8^o Cod. Ms. Theol. 236; first quarter of the fourteenth century (predates the Observance); Mary Magdalene (Hasenpfuhl) in Speyer? (reformed 1463); Carmassi, *Katalog SUB Göttingen; Die Handschriften in Göttingen*, 2:445–46.

Colmar

2. Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 411 (Nr. 301); c. 1327–32? (predates the Observance); Unterlinden in Colmar? (reformed 1419); *Catalogue général*, 56:121–22.

Zurich

3. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 168; late fourteenth century (predates the Observance); Oetenbach in Zurich? (non-Observant), Maria Medingen in Dillingen? (reformed 1467); Petzet, *Die deutschen Pergamenthandschriften*, 305–6, mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00090856 (accessed 5 August 2023).
4. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, ff. 1r–145v; mid-fifteenth century (Observant); St. Katherine in

Nuremberg (reformed 1428); Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 391–93.

5. (fragment) Cologne, Bibliothek St. Albertus Magnus, MS 29; fifteenth century (Observant); St. Michael's Island in Bern? (reformed 1439), St. Katherine in Nuremberg? (reformed 1428); Gattermann, *Handschriftencensus Rheinland*, 1:220, digital.dombibliothek-koeln.de/hs/content/titleinfo/522258 (accessed 5 August 2023).
6. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 744/986 (HMML project # 48 753); 1477 (non-Observant); St. Verena in Zurich (unincorporated); Lang, *Katalog Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln*, 2:315–16.

Nuremberg

7. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VII, 77; 1428–31 (Observant); St. Katherine in Nuremberg (reformed 1428); Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 393.
8. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 62; late fifteenth century (Observant); unknown provenance; Petzet, *Die deutschen Pergamenthandschriften*, 102–3, mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00047638 (accessed 5 August 2023).

Freiburg

9. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter perg. 31; c. 1470 (non-Observant); St. Marx in Strasbourg? (non-Observant), then Weiler near Esslingen (reformed 1478); Heinzer and Stamm, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter*, 2:75–77, digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/id/574549 (accessed 5 August 2023)
10. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter pap. 45; 1478 (Observant); St. Agnes in Freiburg (reformed 1465); Niebler, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter*, 1:67–68, digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/id/271330 (accessed 5 August 2023).
11. Freiburg im Breisgau, Stadtarchiv, B 3 Nr. 27; c. 1500 (non-Observant); St. Katherine in Freiburg (non-Observant); Hagenmaier, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 194–95, dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/sta-b3-027 (accessed 5 August 2023).

The context of transmission that scholars have come to expect for fifteenth-century German-language literature from southern German convents is the Observant reform. The Observance was a movement that participated in the broad reforming impulses of the later Middle Ages and affected almost all of the religious orders.⁷ The reformers themselves seized upon the word “observance” because they advocated stricter observance of each order’s rules and statutes.⁸ In the Dominican order, the movement began at the 1388 general chapter held in Vienna, where Friar Conrad of Prussia showed up to the chapter of faults with a rope around his neck, crying that he should be hanged for his disobedience to the Dominican constitutions.⁹ The movement spread in fits and starts over the next hundred years, with particular success in Lombardy and southern Germany in the mid- to late fifteenth century.¹⁰

The process by which Observant Dominicans undertook a new reform influenced networks of manuscript transmission increasingly throughout this period. The Observants absorbed a community into their network by sending experienced reformers from an Observant house to the new member community in order to introduce Observant practice there.¹¹ For Dominican sisters, many of whom actively promoted the Observance, this procedure created a paradoxically high degree of mobility for strictly enclosed religious women as well as a network of personal connections between Observant convents.¹² These reform networks paved avenues for disseminating religious texts in the vernacular.

The Observant networks developed long after German translations of the *ordinarium* began circulating in the fourteenth century. Yet, communities belonging to the Observant movement are extremely well represented in the transmission. The fragment survives as the limp parchment binding for a codex containing German translations not only of the Augustinian rule and the Dominican constitutions for sisters but also of the reform ordinances imposed on the convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg when they joined the Observance.¹³ Of the ten codices, eight were either demonstrably or very likely owned by Observant convents. Only two very late manuscripts were owned by an unreformed convent and an unincorporated community (St. Katherine in Freiburg and St. Verena in Zurich, respectively). At first glance, this distribution suggests that the German-language *ordinaria* profited from the vernacular literary exchanges

that have been so well documented for fifteenth-century communities of the Observant reform.¹⁴

These numbers, however, are deceptive. Three of the manuscripts owned by convents of the Observance were likely already in the community's possession long before the Observant reform was ever founded. The Speyer translation (owned by Hasenpfohl), the Colmar translation (owned by Unterlinden), and the oldest manuscript of the Zurich translation (owned by Maria Medingen) all date to the fourteenth century and may well have been in the respective convents a good hundred years before they were reformed. In addition, the ordinarium owned by Weiler near Esslingen was almost certainly brought there at the time of the reform, but the manuscript was originally produced for St. Marx in Strasbourg, which never joined the Observance.¹⁵ These factors speak against a simple association of German-language ordinaria with Observant reform.

The distribution of the translations also challenges easy assumptions about dissemination through reform networks. Two of the translations survive in only one manuscript, and two others mainly enjoyed a limited regional distribution. The Zurich translation's strangely scattered dissemination forms the one exception, but there is a clearly discernible path from Zurich to Nuremberg. As I argue in detail in [Appendix 4](#), the Observant convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg almost certainly received a copy of the Zurich translation from Friar Johannes Meyer among the documents he sent to the convent from St. Michael's Island in Bern. This suggests in turn that Meyer, as Observant confessor in Bern, sourced a set of German-language governing documents (including the ordinarium) not from Basel, from which both he and the reforming sisters had come, but rather from Oetenbach, the never-Observant convent in Meyer's hometown of Zurich.¹⁶ These patterns of dissemination—crossing between Observant, non-Observant, even unincorporated houses—do not match the transmission of Latin-language liturgica or of the directoria I consider in [Chapter 5](#), which correlate strongly with the paths of Observant reform parties.¹⁷

[Appendix 4](#) expands the examination of these networks and of the manuscripts as material objects. There, I establish the relationships of the manuscripts to each other and explore the circumstances of transmission more fully. I also describe the extent to which each individual manuscript

was differently updated with the legislation of the Dominican general chapter. Finally, I present the evidence for associating men with the production and dissemination of the manuscripts from the colophons, binding fragments, and medieval library catalogs where their names are recorded.

Ritual Roles and Ceremonial Smells: Gendered Omissions

In the rest of this chapter, I turn to the content of the five different translations to show how the translators adapted the order's standard ordinarium for the sisters' use. Because women could not be ordained to the diaconate, Dominican sisters were not permitted to serve at the altar, handle consecrated incense, or proclaim the gospel. These prohibitions affected not only the mass but also the office, since important feasts involved incense at vespers and lauds and entailed a gospel reading before the seventh lesson at matins. The differences not only between the German translations and the Latin original but also among the various German-language ordinaria reveal the translators' varying understandings of women's role in the Dominican Rite and the ordinarium's role in women's liturgy.

I wish to emphasize this point. The Dominican ordinaria, including the German translations, are prescriptive documents. They record what people were supposed to be doing, not what they actually did. Extant marginalia and annotations show that these manuscripts were in fact used, and the supplementary manuals discussed in [Chapters 5](#) and [6](#) occasionally provide concrete information. Nevertheless, the ordinaria only reliably indicate what the translators thought a women's version of the Dominican ordinarium should be—not even necessarily how they thought Dominican women's liturgy should be performed! In keeping with this historiographical caution, I focus in this chapter on how the translators adapted the ordinarium's contents, mostly leaving open the question of what women did with this information. What does emerge clearly from these sources is a diversity in the text that was supposed to guarantee Dominican liturgical uniformity.

Omission as a Cost-Saving Measure: Mass Prayers and Readings

Mass entailed several prayers or readings declaimed by a priest or a deacon, even in women's communities, and the sections of the ordinarium handling these texts prompted intervention. The ways in which the German translations adjust the section on mass collects, for example, provides an especially stark contrast with the Latin ordinaria examined in [Chapter 3](#). The 1421 Nuremberg *correctura* painstakingly overhauled the weekly schedules of collects to accommodate the Tuesday masses for Dominic introduced in 1364. Nothing like this is found in the German ordinaria, which either predate this liturgical innovation or axe the section completely. There was nothing inherent to collects that excluded women from performing them. The hebdomadarian, prioress, or whichever sister presided over the hours of the office said collects daily. However, collects were always performed by the liturgical presider, and at mass the liturgical presider was always an ordained priest. Therefore, the exorbitantly long instructions for scheduling mass collects were simply irrelevant for women. Because they were not forbidden, just unnecessary, the ways in which the translators dealt with this chapter betray how they thought women should use an ordinarium translation, or whether they thought about it at all.

Only the two earliest translators (Speyer and Colmar) retained the chapter on mass collects in its entirety. Curiously, the Speyer translator left the chapter on mass collects in Latin, suggesting perhaps that he did not anticipate sisters needing access to this portion of the rubrics.¹⁸ If this is the case, it also means that he imagined men (the convent's confessors or chaplains?) using the same manuscript to plan mass that the sisters used to plan their liturgy. Potential joint use of this manuscript implies a higher degree of contact and collaboration than we have come to expect between religious men and women, given late medieval evidence for separate confessors' libraries.¹⁹ Yet it is attested that men and women in religious communities shared manuscripts and even collaborated in their creation.²⁰ The Speyer translator may have envisioned intensive male intervention in and oversight of a women's community that was just learning what it meant to be Dominican, to the extent that manuscripts were prepared for joint use.

In contrast, the Colmar translator rendered the lengthy chapter fully into German.²¹ This choice conforms to the conception of the Colmar translation as a whole; it generally is the most complete and the least modified of all five versions. This comprehensiveness does not necessarily indicate that the

Colmar translator sought to empower the sisters for whom he worked. Rather, he brought the least amount of attention to his project, as will be corroborated throughout this chapter. The Colmar translator's chapter on mass collects is only the most egregious example of his making more work for himself through inattention to the needs and circumstances of the Dominican sisters for whom the translation was intended.

The three later translators all omitted the chapter on mass collects, likely in the interest of saving space, since they knew that women did not need it. The Nuremberg translator passed over the mass collects with no mention at all. The Zurich translator instructed the user to seek the mass collects in the missal.²² The Freiburg version provides the clearest evidence for a user's attitudes toward these sections, although not that of the translator himself. Although he omitted the mass collects, he included the shorter chapter on mass prefaces, which were also prayers of the celebrant. In one manuscript, a later annotator marked the preface chapter for deletion, explaining that the prefaces are like the collects: "This chapter about the prefaces does not concern the sisters at all, so one should leave it out just as the chapter on collects is omitted, because the sisters never sing it. [Dis capitel von der prifacion gät gantz nichtz an die swestren, darvmb man es sol vnder wegen lassen als das capitel von den orationes wirt vnder wegen bliben, wan die swestren das niemer singen.]"²³ Detailed rubrics for these prayers at mass were not necessary in a German-language ordinarium because women did not say them and therefore did not need to know how to choose them.

This principle of saving space by leaving out irrelevant rubrics also drove the most pervasive and fine-grained intervention in the contents of the ordinarium. In the sections with mass propers for individual feasts, both the Nuremberg and the Zurich translators systematically omitted all elements of the mass that were performed by the priest and/or deacons. The vast extent of this simple difference is starkly apparent in comparing the Translation of Dominic in the Nuremberg version with the Latin ordinarium and the Freiburg version. Whereas the Freiburg text matches the Latin text exactly, the Nuremberg translator omitted five of the proper elements: the collect, the epistle reading, the gospel reading, the secret, and the post-communion prayer. In [table 9](#), the rubrics and text genre are printed in italics, and the words that follow are the incipits identifying the proper text.

(See [Chapter 1](#) for the seasonal options for the *Alleluia*.) All the mass texts spoken by the priest and/or deacons are excised from the Nuremberg translation, and only the musical chants remain.

These instructions for mass were needed in a convent but not in the sisters' books. The celebrant and his assistants performed their roles in the external church, outside the convent enclosure, and their books needed to be accessible to them, perhaps kept in an "outer sacristy" or confessor's library.²⁴ Such an outer sacristy may have been where the Latin ordinarium owned by the convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg was kept (discussed in [Chapter 3](#)).²⁵ Because women did not perform these texts, it was not strictly necessary to copy all of the mass material into an ordinarium destined to facilitate women's activities inside their enclosure. The attentive translators may not have been maliciously withholding information but rather simply trying to skimp on parchment, thereby saving the sisters an unnecessary expense.

The three ways of handling mass texts restricted to men reveal three approaches to the purpose of a women's ordinarium. The Speyer translator wrote for a community in which women and men collaborated to organize the liturgy, even using the same manuscript as a ritual guide. The Colmar translator provided a complete rendering with minimal interventions. The Zurich, Nuremberg, and Freiburg translators all adjusted the ordinarium for women's use, but each made different choices in the process of adaptation. These various approaches to the project of creating a Dominican sisters' ordinarium resulted in a variety of prescribed ritual practices and a diversity in the Dominican Rite, not just between men's and women's communities but also from convent to convent.

Table 9. A comparison of the entry for Mass of the Translation of Dominic in the ordinarium of the Latin exemplar, the German Freiburg translation, and the German Nuremberg translation. Note that the collect (*oratio*), epistle reading (*epistola*), gospel reading (*evangelium*), secret, and post-communion prayer are missing from the Nuremberg translation.

<i>Latin exemplar: London BL, Add. 23935, f. 45r</i>	<i>Freiburg translation: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. St. Peter pap. 45, f. 207r</i>	<i>Nuremberg translation: Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 122v</i>
<i>In translatione beati dominici.</i>	<i>In translacione beati dominici</i>	<i>In festo translacionis sand dominici</i>
<i>Officium. In medio.</i>	<i>Officium In medio.</i>	<i>Officium. In medio.</i>
<i>Oratio. Deus qui ecclesiam.</i>	<i>Oratio. Deus qui ecclesiam.</i>	—

<i>Latin exemplar: London BL, Add. 23935, f. 45r</i>	<i>Freiburg translation: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. St. Peter pap. 45, f. 207r</i>	<i>Nuremberg translation: Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 122v</i>
<i>Epistola. Testificor.</i>	<i>Epistola. Testificor.</i>	—
<i>Alleluia. v. Pie pater.</i>	<i>Alleluia. v. Pie pater.</i>	<i>Alleluia. v. Pie pater.</i>
<i>Alleluia. v. Christus resurgens.</i>	<i>Jn der oster zit. Alleluia. v. Christus resurgens.</i>	<i>Alleluia. v. Christus resurgens.</i>
<i>Post ascensionem secundum Alleluia. v. Ascendens Christus.</i>	<i>Noch der vffart. Alleluia. v. Ascendens.</i>	<i>Jnnerhalb Ascensio domini Alleluia. v. Ascendens Christus.</i>
<i>Post trinitatem Responsorium. Os iusti.</i>	<i>Noch der driualtikeit. Responsorium. Os iusti.</i>	<i>Noch trinitatis Responsorium. Os iusti.</i>
<i>Alleluia. v. Pie pater.</i>	<i>Alleluia. v. Pie pater.</i>	<i>Alleluia. v. Pie pater.</i>
<i>Sequentia. Jn celesti.</i>	<i>Sequentia. Jn celesti.</i>	<i>Sequentia. Jn celesti.</i>
<i>Evangelium. Vos estis sal.</i>	<i>Evangelium. Vos estis sal.</i>	—
<i>Offertorium. Desiderium.</i>	<i>Offertorium. Desiderium.</i>	<i>Offertorium. Desiderium.</i>
<i>Secreta. Munera.</i>	<i>Secreta. Munera.</i>	—
<i>Communio. Fidelis.</i>	<i>Communio. Fidelis.</i>	<i>Communio. Fidelis.</i>
<i>Postcommunio. Concede.</i>	<i>Conplenda. Concede.</i>	—

Gendered Prohibition: Incense

Such diversity also arose around ritual elements subject to true prohibitions. For example, only ordained persons were technically permitted to touch and handle consecrated objects, a category that included far more than just the altar. Incense, which formed an important sensory element of the rituals at mass, was restricted to priests or deacons, ranks that only men could hold.²⁶ This constraint was a practice of the broader church to which the Dominicans were also subject. Instructions for censuring the altar at mass were not contained in the Dominican ordinarium but rather in the conventual missal.²⁷ However, incense was also used during the office hours of vespers and lauds on duplex and totum duplex feasts, and these rubrics were included in the standard Latin ordinarium.²⁸ Censing at vespers and lauds thus created a problem for women’s liturgies, and the inclusion of this ritual in the ordinarium created a problem for the translators.

As the Dominican ordinarium instructed, at vespers while the community sang the canticle *Magnificat*, the prior censed the consecrated host and the altar. He then kissed the altar, handed the censer over to the thurifer (incense-bearer), and returned to his seat in the choir. The thurifer then censed the members of the community—starting with the prior, the

ministers, the cantors, all the way down through the whole community—as the ordinarium explicitly instructed, “having placed non-consecrated incense in the censer [posito incenso non benedicto in thuribulo].”²⁹ At question was not only the ordination status of the persons handling the burning incense itself but also that non-ordained persons were not even supposed to come into contact with consecrated smoke, even in friaries.

The instructions concerning censuring at vespers were therefore clearly an issue for women’s communities, in which no one was ordained at all. Three of the translations (Speyer, Nuremberg, and Zurich) solved the problem by simply omitting the entire section concerning censuring during the office. It is not possible to reconstruct the translators’ motivations for this omission. Perhaps they believed that incense should not be used in women’s communities. Perhaps they simply did not know what to do with it, so they avoided translating the chapter altogether. Whatever the reason for the omission, women’s communities that owned these versions of the ordinarium did not even have a mention of incense at vespers and lauds. Did they know what they were missing?

The Colmar and Freiburg translators did include the chapter on censuring, but they consistently used masculine forms to describe the ritual actors. A prior performs the censuring of the altar, not a prioress, and the thurifer is described with masculine noun forms as “der wyrouchtreger” or “he who carries the censer [der dz röchfas treit].”³⁰ Accordingly, the same Freiburg annotator whose work we saw with the mass texts above also flagged the section on censuring: “This chapter is not at all for the women’s communities. Therefore, it should be entirely omitted, unless one wants to observe this in the external church and not in the choir. [Dis capitel ist gantz nit für die frowen clöster. Dar vmb sol man es gantz vsslossen, man welle es dann halten vsswendig jn der kirchen vnd nit jm chor.]”³¹ Incense was permitted if an ordained man handled it in the external church. However, this option would largely defeat the aesthetic purpose of the ritual at vespers and lauds, which involved censuring not only the altar but also the members of the community. The chapter on censuring was duly omitted from the two other witnesses of the Freiburg translation.³² Curiously, the later additions in the Weiler manuscript (see [Appendix 4](#)) include the entire chapter rendered with feminine noun forms. This version not only envisions a sister bearing the incense, it also somewhat shockingly instructs that the prioress should

kiss the altar after censuring it.³³ It is impossible to know whether the women who owned this manuscript performed the rituals it contains, whether on the high altar or the altar in their choir. In any case, prohibiting women's communities from censuring during the office significantly impoverished the sensory experience of high-ranking feasts, as will be explored further in [Chapter 6](#).

Gendered Prohibition: The Gospel Reading at Matins

Similar issues affected the gospel readings, which were also restricted to deacons and likewise had a place in both office and mass. At mass, the gospel reading did not pose an additional problem for women's communities, as a priest was also required for consecration of the Eucharist. The gospel could be read by the priest, if no deacon were present, and the standardized rubrics of the Dominican order's private missal explained this ritual option.³⁴ However, the mass was not the only context for gospel readings in medieval liturgy. On Sundays and other important feasts, the final nocturn at matins usually drew its lessons from a patristic homily, and the gospel passage on which it commented was read first, at the beginning of the seventh lesson. The requirement for this liturgical actor during the office matched the restriction on the gospel reader at mass: Even at matins, the gospel should be read by a deacon.

As Gary Macy has shown, twelfth- and thirteenth-century canon lawyers debated whether women should be allowed to read the gospel passages that prefaced the seventh lesson at matins. Some argued that abbesses could be allowed to read the gospel for their communities, since abbesses were blessed and might therefore perform special roles. Even this small concession was struck down by Pope Innocent III in 1210.³⁵ It was irrelevant in any case, since Dominican communities did not have abbots or abbesses, only priors and prioresses, who were not consecrated to their office in the same manner.³⁶ Dominican friars observed the rule restricting the gospel reading to deacons, as is evident from the exemplar's martyrology. This book contained the model liturgical duty roster, which provided instructions for assigning liturgical tasks and performance roles. Whereas most of the matins lessons are read by "Friar so-and-so [frater talis]," the seventh lesson with its gospel is assigned in the model duty

roster to “a deacon [diaconus].”³⁷ However, the principle is never addressed in the ordinarium, which almost never mentions matins lessons at all.

Because rubrics for the matins lessons are largely missing even from the standard Latin ordinarium for friars, it is difficult to know how the German translators approached the question of whether women could read the gospel at matins. One extraordinary ceremony does provide an analogous test case that can hint at broader practice. On Christmas Day, the office hour of matins transitioned directly into the first mass by way of an extra gospel reading:

When the verse of the ninth responsory has been sung, a deacon proceeds with solemn pomp to sing the *Liber generationis*, according to the music provided for the gospel on totum duplex feasts. When the gospel is finished, the *Te Deum* is immediately begun. While the *Te Deum* is being sung, the person assigned to the first mass prepares himself with his ministers. After the *Te Deum*, mass begins immediately.

Dum versus noni responsorii cantatur, procedat Diaconus cum solemnibus apparatu ad cantandum *Liber generationis* sicut in festis totis duplicibus de Evangelio est notatum. Finito Evangelio, statim incipiatur *Te Deum*. Interim dum *Te Deum* cantatur, qui primam Missam cantare debet, praeparet se cum ministris. Post *Te Deum* continuo Missa inchoetur.³⁸

Liber generationis refers to the first book of the Gospel of Matthew, which outlines the genealogy of Joseph (the Virgin Mary’s earthly husband) from Abraham through King David and down the line. This rubric contains the only explicit mention in the entire ordinarium of a deacon reading the gospel during matins. The ritual provides an excellent test case. Not only is the deacon explicitly mentioned, Christmas matins transitions directly into mass, at which men would have to preside even in a women’s community.

In this context, the translations are extremely revealing and their variety is mildly shocking. Predictably, the Colmar translator alone retained the standard ordinarium’s mention of a deacon, adding a “gospeler” as an alternative: “While one sings the verse of the ninth responsory, a deacon or gospeler with an honorable appearance and preparations should step forth to

sing the gospel *Liber generationis* as it is noted about the gospel for feasts that are totum duplex. [Wanne man den vers des nunden Responsorien singet, so sol heruor gan ein dyacen oder Ewangelier mit eime erlichen schine vnd bereitungen, zů singene das Ewangelium *Liber generacionis* also es in den hochgeziten, die zemale zweiueltig sint, von dem ewangelio ist gemercket.]”³⁹ This reader appears only in masculine noun forms, making it unlikely that the Colmar translator believed a woman might perform this role. Moreover, at the end of the passage, he instructs that the priest prepare himself “with his servers or acolytes [mit sinen dienern oder iungern]”⁴⁰ again with masculine noun forms. It is possible that a women’s community commanded enough personnel to have multiple male ministers assist the celebrant at first mass on Christmas. Far more likely, the Colmar translator rendered the text directly from Latin without considering a convent’s circumstances. The sisters using this ordinarium had to invent a solution for themselves.

The Speyer and Zurich translations reflect awareness that the rubrics are inadequate, but they sidestep the question of the liturgical actor. The Speyer version instructs: “After the ninth responsory, one reads the gospel *Liber generationis*. [Nach dem neunden respons liset man ewangelium *liber generationis*.]”⁴¹ Similarly, according to the Zurich translator: “Afterwards, one reads the gospel *Liber generationis*. [Darnach list man dz ewangeli *liber generacionis*.]”⁴² Who is “one”? Is it a sister? Is it the priest? Was the translator holding out hope that the convent might have deacons about, but didn’t want to require it, just in case? Making the passage vague represents an active decision on the part of these translators to leave out the deacon, possibly indicating that they themselves were not certain who should sing this gospel in women’s communities.

The Freiburg translator offered the most obvious solution by replacing the deacon with a priest, although he also introduced a description of his vestments that is not found in the Latin ordinarium:

While one is singing the ninth responsory, the priest who is chaplain should put on a beautiful alb with maniple and stole. And when the ninth responsory after the *Gloria patri* is sung to the end, he should splendidly read the gospel *Liber generationis* as for totum duplex. And when the gospel is done, the sisters should immediately sing *Te*

Deum laudamus, during which the priest should prepare himself for mass.

Die wil man dz núnde Responsorium singet, so sol der priester der denn kapelon ist ein herlich albe anlegen mit hantfan vnd stolen. Vnd so dz núnde Responsorium noch *Gloria patri* gerwe vsagesungen wirt, so sol er herlich lesen dz ewangelium *Liber generacionis* also zů totum duplex. Vnd so dz ewangelium vs kumet, so söllent die swesterin zů stunt dor vf *Te Deum laudamus* singen. Die wil sol sich der priester zů der messe bereiten.⁴³

Such a shift from a deacon to the priest who is explicitly the chaplain corresponds to the situation of a women's community, which may only have been able to recruit one ordained man to perform mass for them. The priest could assume all the roles for which ordination was required, including those of deacon and subdeacon. Since, on Christmas, matins continued directly into mass anyway, he only needed to show up slightly early. The Freiburg translator adapted the ritual instructions for sisters, without allowing the women to fill this liturgical role.

Finally, the Nuremberg translator explicitly permitted women to read the gospel, yet the anticipated absence of ordained men should cause concern. Opening with the same option as the Freiburg version, he explains: "While the verses are being sung, the priest should vest himself in festal manner to sing the gospel *Liber generationis* to the melody that is indicated for the gospel on totum duplex feasts. Where the priest is lacking, a sister may sing this to the melody for lessons. [Dy weil dye vers gesungen werden, lege sich der priester an hochzitlich zu singen das ewangeli *liber generationis*, noch der weis dye verzeichnet ist von dem ewangeli an totum duplex fest. Wo mangel ist des priesters lese dasselb ayn Swester in leczenlicher weis.]"⁴⁴ The translator explicitly permitted that a woman might sing the Christmas gospel passage, but she apparently should not use the elaborate melody notated in the evangeliary.⁴⁵ Rather, she should sing this special text as though it were any other lesson. Two motivations are possible: Either the Nuremberg friar found it inappropriate for women to sing gospel melodies but tolerated them singing gospel texts to lesson melodies; or he anticipated that a women's community might not even own

an evangeliary, in which the musical notation for gospel melodies was contained.⁴⁶ In the latter case, he did not seek to impose a restriction on them but rather to accommodate the music manuscripts at their disposal.⁴⁷

A marginal annotation in a different hand suggests that the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg either disregarded or did not require the option to use a lesson melody for the *Liber generationis* at Christmas matins. Keyed for insertion just before the word “melody [weis],” the note adds “or the notated (melody), where this is customary [oder genotierter (weis), wo das gwonhait ist].”⁴⁸ Perhaps inserted by one of the sisters using this ordinarium, the note suggests that if the women possessed the musical notation for this special melody, they might as well sing it. When this ordinarium was copied, the marginal annotation was incorporated directly into the text body of the new manuscript, enshrining this variation as an official option.⁴⁹

In this particular case, at the end of matins on Christmas Day, the possibility that a priest might not be present to read the *Liber generationis* poses a problem for the community’s liturgy. Mass was supposed to begin immediately after matins concluded, and a priest was absolutely indispensable for mass. Granted, if no priest were there at the end of matins, then women could seize a liturgical role technically limited to (male) deacons. But what would happen next? Would they have to wait to perform mass until a priest showed up? Sing the chants for mass without celebration of the Eucharist? Have no mass at all? And on Christmas, at that? This concern reminds us that we should not simply uncritically celebrate every instance in which women assumed liturgical roles usually forbidden to them. Instead, we should step back and consider the larger ritual context in which such performances were embedded. The medieval women themselves may not have perceived such opportunities as exciting moments of ritual agency; rather, potentially they may have seen them as stopgap measures in unpleasant or even detrimental situations.

This marginal note in the Nuremberg manuscript delivers the most direct evidence in the extant ordinaria for women proclaiming the gospel. The directoria, discussed further in [Chapter 5](#), corroborate through similar details that the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg did read the gospel at matins. For example, unlike the friars’ duty roster, which specifies a deacon, the sisters’ duty roster assigns the seventh matins lesson with its

gospel to “Sister so-and-so [soror talis].”⁵⁰ It further specifies that not one but two sisters should be assigned to sing the *Liber generationis* at Christmas.⁵¹ In their letters, the Nuremberg sisters stipulate that the seventh matins lesson should be sung by the “chantress [cantrix],” but “if the chantress is not in choir, the subchantress in the left choir sings the seventh lesson [ist die canterin nit zů chor, so singt die sengerin jm lincken chor die sibenden letzen].”⁵² The prescriptive sources from St. Katherine in Nuremberg, both the ordinarium and their directoria, thus supply concrete directives that women should perform the gospel reading at matins. These women’s sources hint at the different ways in which communities owning the vague Colmar, Speyer, and Zurich translations may have handled the gospel reading at matins. Depending on the day and the available persons, the gospel may have been read by a priest, the convent’s confessor or chaplain, the community’s chantress, or another competent sister. The solutions may have varied not only convent to convent but also year to year within a single community. The German-language ordinaria did not provide viable instructions for uniform practice.

Patrons, Visitors, and the Virgin Mary: Adapting to Enclosure

In addition to the deletions and adaptations motivated by the prohibition against women’s ordination to the diaconate, the issue of women’s enclosure also prompted a number of interventions. These changes overwhelmingly affected the series of intermediate chapters sandwiched between the office and mass sections of the ordinarium.⁵³ Many of these chapters contained rubrics for rituals that—if performed according to the standard ordinarium—broke either active or passive enclosure. In particular, the chapters on blessing travelers, electing officials at legislative assemblies, welcoming order superiors, and receiving donor patrons to share in the order’s merits all required adjustment for enclosed women. Lacking centralized guidance, the German translators adapted, or failed to adapt, Dominican rituals to women’s enclosure in diverse ways.

Active Versus Passive Enclosure

Dominican sisters needed to adapt liturgical rituals to the different configurations of female monastic space. Female enclosure had formed part of the Dominican program since the 1221 foundation of San Sisto in Rome.⁵⁴ Indeed, Dominican friaries were also technically subject to passive enclosure, which was violated when outsiders entered the community's precincts. Sisters were additionally subject to active enclosure, thus forbidden from exiting the convent's bounds.⁵⁵ The Dominican Rite included both processions outside the enclosure area and rituals involving guests within the community's space. The legislative context of the constitutions for Dominican sisters suggests that liturgical ceremonies violating active enclosure should be handled differently from those that disturbed passive enclosure, yet the translators did not treat them this way.

Active enclosure, for example, would have prevented Dominican sisters from attending the general or provincial chapters, even if the friars deigned to give them a voice. Therefore, Dominican women needed neither the rubrics for election procedures at the order's legislative assemblies nor the prayers and blessings for travelers on their way there. These rituals could in theory be simply omitted from any ordinarium destined for women's use. In contrast, the sisters' constitutions explicitly permitted passive enclosure to be broken in certain circumstances, not only by church functionaries but even by (male!) lay patrons:

A king, or a queen, or a metropolitan, or a diocesan, or a legate, or a cardinal, or a pope, or a patron, if this was conceded at the community's foundation, are allowed to enter in honest and sober company, where up until now this has been the custom. Item, the master general, or the provincial prior, or a visitor who has been sent to conduct a visitation can enter in the respectable company of friars from time to time, but only seldom.

Regem, uel reginam, uel metropolitanum, uel dyocesanum, uel legatum, uel cardinalem, uel papam, uel patronum, uel patronam, si ab inicio fundacionis concessum eis fuerit, licebit ingredi cum societate honesta et moderata, ubi usque modo fuit hic consuetudo. Item magister, uel prior prouincialis, uel uisitor ad hoc missus

causa uisitacionis ingredi poterunt cum societate fratrum matura, interdum, sed raro.⁵⁶

The constitutions further stipulated that the prioress herself welcome such persons, accompanied by three of the community elders. All other sisters should gather in the choir or the chapter house so that convent superiors could more easily control any potential contact between the outsiders and the enclosed women.⁵⁷ Given that the sisters' constitutions not only explicitly permitted entrance to ecclesiastical superiors and lay patrons but also provided a ritual template for such events, the corresponding passages in the *ordinarium* would simply need to be tweaked to bring them into line with the sisters' constitutions.

Yet the translators did not, in fact, handle the issues of active and passive enclosure differently. The Colmar, Zurich, and Freiburg translations simply lack all of the relevant chapters, those pertaining to active and to passive enclosure alike.⁵⁸ Omitting the chapters on travelers and elections does not surprise, but skipping the welcome ceremonies when the sisters' constitutions explicitly permit them is strange. Perhaps the translators were simply inattentive; perhaps they intended to discourage or even prevent women from receiving visitors without the consent and presence of a male Dominican authority. Whatever the motivations, the chantresses who used these translations had legitimate grounds to plan such ceremonies, but they had to do it without the benefit of the *ordinarium*'s guidelines.

In contrast, the Speyer translator and the Nuremberg translator retained all the intermediate sections.⁵⁹ These translators recognized that portions of these chapters were irrelevant for women, but instead of axing the entire chapters, they judiciously abbreviated them. For example, they retained only the opening and the end of the chapter on elections, which detailed the ritual to be performed in advance of an election and the prayers that followed the election of a prior (in this case, prioress). Unlike the other translators, who cut the entire section, the Speyer and Nuremberg translators kept the chapter on elections but reduced it to the rituals for the one institutional election that Dominican sisters did conduct. Such thoughtful interventions characterize their treatment of all these rituals.

Sister Travelers: Enclosure and the Procedures of Reform

The Speyer and Nuremberg translations reflect the circumstances in which they were produced. The Speyer translation was composed around 1304, shortly after the community of Hasenpfehl joined the Dominican order for the first time. The Nuremberg text was written around 1429, shortly after the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg joined the Observant reform movement. From the beginning of the order, Dominicans had two ways of transforming communities of women into Dominican sisters: by placing them under the close mentorship of local friars or by bringing sisters from an existing convent to the new location, either as founding members or as mentors to teach the Dominican way of life.⁶⁰ (I distinguish this goal from formal incorporation into the order, which was more difficult to achieve than adopting Dominican practice.⁶¹) There is no surviving evidence from Hasenpfehl in Speyer indicating whether Dominican sisters were drawn from elsewhere to assist the friars in establishing Dominican life, and the local friars may have been solely responsible for converting the community.⁶² In contrast, St. Katherine's reform by sisters from Schönensteinbach in Alsace is extremely well attested.⁶³ Both the Speyer and the Nuremberg ordinarius translations were produced for communities undergoing institutional transformation, but the different mechanisms and priorities of these changes influenced the translators' decisions.

Within the context of Observant reform, the Nuremberg translator's choice to include the prayers for travelers and the ritual for welcoming the master general seems contradictory. The Dominican Observants advocated an unusually strict practice of enclosure for women's convents that was by no means traditional, often required significant architectural renovation, and stirred up controversy within the order.⁶⁴ The ordinarius's chapter on prayers for travelers was incompatible with the strictures of active enclosure, which prohibited women from exiting convent grounds. Conversely, the Dominican ritual for the arrival of a master general violated passive enclosure by admitting a man into the precincts. These sections of the ordinarius thus seem irrelevant, particularly for an Observant convent under unusually strict enclosure.

Yet the events surrounding St. Katherine's reform were likely fresh in the Nuremberg friar's mind, while he worked on translating the ordinarius. In providing his sisters with the prayers for travelers, he not only remembered the arrival of reforming sisters from Schönensteinbach but also

anticipated that the women of St. Katherine would someday themselves appoint reform parties to journey to other convents and introduce the Observance there (which they did, many times over).⁶⁵ Similarly, Observant ordinances forbade sisters from permitting entry even to the order's highest superiors for any reason whatsoever.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, in December 1428, Master General Bartholomew Texier (r. 1426–49) was personally present in Nuremberg at the very chapter meeting where the Observant sisters from Schönensteinbach were appointed to administrative posts in St. Katherine.⁶⁷ To bring a convent into the Observant fold, strictly enclosed sisters traveled often significant distances, and male Dominican superiors entered convent precincts to oversee a smooth transition of power. The procedure for introducing Observant reform thus paradoxically created the need for the ordinarium's prayers for travelers and ritual reception of the master general.

Prior, Prioress, and Patron: Receiving Outsiders to the Order's Spiritual Benefits

The differences between Hasenpfuhl's incorporation into the Dominican order and St. Katherine's introduction to the Observant reform influenced the translators' attitudes toward enclosure and male oversight. Although the Speyer and Nuremberg translations do not exhibit stark differences in the prayers for travelers or the reception of order superiors, it proves particularly illuminating to compare their rituals for receiving patrons to share in the convent's spiritual benefits. Both translators adapted this chapter to the situation of the communities for which they wrote, but different aspects of the ritual troubled them. Whereas the Speyer translator incorporated options in case a man presided over the ritual, the Nuremberg translator strove to adapt the ceremony for stricter enclosure.

In principle, the ritual existed in order to encourage and reward the support—especially the political support—of powerful patrons. This purpose is evident from the list of persons who, according to the standard Latin ordinarium, might participate: bishops, cardinals, papal legates, kings, emperors, and women of great nobility.⁶⁸ Once the entire community had gathered in the chapter house, the person was led in by a friar and seated either in the prior's own place or near him, depending on the degree of the person's nobility. The prior waxed lyrical about the petitioner's devotion to

and support of the Dominican order, exhorting the friars to pray for them. The person then placed their hand on an open book containing the rule and constitutions, while the community recited psalm 122 (*Ad te levavi*). After reading a collect, the prior formally declared that this person henceforth shared in all the good deeds performed by the friars, “whether these be masses, or prayers, or fasts, or abstinence, or vigils, or preaching, or other works [sive sint Missae, sive orationes, vel jejunia, vel abstinenciae, vel vigiliae, vel praedicationes, vel labores alii].”⁶⁹ The community responded with an Amen, and the petitioner kissed the book. The spatial aspects of this ritual, in which the petitioner was honored by being in or near the prior’s seat in the midst of the assembled community, were clearly inappropriate for strictly enclosed women and required some adjustment.

The different approaches taken by the Nuremberg and Speyer translators are immediately apparent at the opening of the chapter. The Nuremberg translator brought the text into line with the enclosure directives of the sisters’ constitutions by specifying that not one (as in the Latin *ordinarium*) but rather “three of the sisters should be sent to the person who is to be received [so sullen drey von den Swestren gesantt werden noch der person dy zu enpfahend ist].”⁷⁰ In contrast, the Speyer translator did not bother to alter the number in the escort, satisfied to send one sister. He did, however, incorporate different options depending on whether a prior or a prioress presided over the ceremony: “Once they have gathered, a sister should bring the person into the chapterhouse or the choir, if a prior is present. And if the person is worthy of this, then he or the prioress, if the prior is not there, should step forward. [So si sint gesamenet, so bringe ein suester di persone in daz capitel oder den cor, ist ein prior engein wortek. Vnd ist di persona so hoc, so[I] er oder di priorin, ob nit prior da ist, engegen gen.]”⁷¹ The phrasing here suggests that the Speyer translator assumed that a male superior would preside over the ceremony, and the prioress could preside only if he were unavailable. These adjustments to the chapter’s opening prove characteristic of each translator’s approach, as the Speyer translator consistently incorporated a male presider and the Nuremberg translator consistently altered the text to enhance enclosure.

The Speyer translator’s vision of a male presider led him to duplicate the instructions for the concluding prayers. Both the Nuremberg and the Speyer versions provided German translations of the ritual proclamation at

the conclusion of the ceremony. The Speyer translator, however, then followed the German version with the Latin original, in case a prior is presiding: “If a prior says it, he should say ... [Si dicit prior, dicat ...].”⁷² The inclusion of the original Latin version of this proclamation, explicitly marked as being for male use, accords with the Speyer translator’s treatment of the mass collects, which—only in the Speyer manuscript—were provided in Latin for the benefit of the male celebrant. Uniquely among the German-language ordinaria, the Speyer translator envisioned a mixed group of users, providing Latin texts for male readers and German translations for his female audience. This feature anticipated an intense involvement of male superiors in the community’s liturgical affairs and ritual life.

The different imagined situations of the Speyer and Nuremberg communities are likewise reflected in the instructions for handling the ceremony if the petitioning patron may not enter the chapterhouse, which lay within the convent enclosure. The Speyer translator merely followed the Latin original designed for men, saying that the ceremony should be conducted in the external church if the new beneficiary is not permitted to enter the enclosed precincts.⁷³ Friars’ communities were only subject to passive enclosure—that is, women were not allowed to enter, so it solved the problem to move the ritual to the external church for beneficiaries of the opposite sex. However, women were also subject to active enclosure and the external church lay outside these bounds. In following the friars’ version of the ritual, the Speyer translator thus accepted that the sisters might break enclosure to perform a ritual in the external church. This solution was unacceptable to the Observant Nuremberg translator. He suggested instead that the community gather “in the place where they listen to sermons [an der predigstat].”⁷⁴ This alternative envisions a liminal space in which inside and outside are strictly separated both visually and physically, but the boundary is permeable to sound. A joint ceremony could be conducted aurally while preserving the female enclosure so valued by Observant reformers. The different adaptations made by the Speyer and the Nuremberg translator reveal their attitudes toward the sisters’ relationship to the outside world: The Speyer translator envisioned much closer oversight and intervention by male superiors, whereas the Nuremberg translator valued enclosure above all else.

Impossible Procession: The *Salve Regina* After Compline

One further highly significant ritual would require Dominican sisters to break enclosure if performed as described in the standard Dominican ordinarium: the *Salve regina* procession after compline. Unlike the problematic rituals discussed so far, this chapter could not be wholesale omitted from the ordinarium translations because the procession held a very important place in Dominican imagination and identity formation. According to the order's traditions, the procession had been instituted in the early days of the order to beseech the Blessed Virgin Mary's intercession and assistance.⁷⁵ All five German translations include the rubrics for the *Salve regina* procession, but most mutilate the ritual in their attempt to accommodate women's enclosure.

The issues caused by this procession are similar to those that have been identified in studies of rogation processions for women's communities of other religious orders. Rogation processions were controversial for houses of enclosed women because they entailed the nuns exiting convent precincts in order to tour and pray over the land belonging to the community.⁷⁶ However, rogations were a moot point for Dominicans, who were founded as a mendicant order, living ideally from alms without even any communal income from rents.⁷⁷ Since Dominican communities were not supposed to own land, their liturgy did not include a rogation procession to (nonexistent) communal properties. The order's mendicant ideal was not upheld in practice, especially not for women's communities.⁷⁸ Yet I am not aware of any Dominican community externally sourcing a rogation procession from another order's liturgy.

The *Salve regina* procession required greater adjustment than other Dominican processions because it differed in both route and timing. Most of the order's mandated processions were performed immediately before mass and entailed a route leading through the cloister walk, which lay within the bounds of convent enclosure.⁷⁹ In contrast, the *Salve regina* procession occurred every day at the close of compline, and the route led into the external church. In friaries, the community exited the choir and processed through the nave before returning to the choir for the conclusion of the ritual and, if it was a ferial day, receiving discipline.⁸⁰ The nave of the church in friaries and convents alike was open to the laity.⁸¹ This openness

was not a problem for the friars' procession. The Latin ordinarium instructed only that, if secular persons happened to be present in the church, the friars should return to the choir before saying the closing *Pater noster* and *Credo*.⁸² For a convent church, however, it meant that the nave—indeed, the entire external church, including the sanctuary where the high altar was located—lay outside the women's enclosure.

Dominican women's communities found various solutions for this problem. Mercedes Pérez Vidal has tracked the practices of several Castilian convents, many of which refocused ceremonial attention on an altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin but which was located within their enclosure. The convents of Santo Domingo in Madrid and Santa Maria in Medina del Campo held the *Salve regina* in front of Marian altars located in the sisters' choirs.⁸³ The sisters of Santo Domingo in Toledo redirected the procession into the south range of their cloister, where several altars were located, including one consecrated to the Blessed Virgin.⁸⁴ In the southern German context, the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg processed out of the stalls but remained within the choir. There is no evidence for a focus on a Marian altar similar to what Pérez Vidal has found for Castile. (See [Chapter 6](#) for a detailed discussion.) Both in Castile and in Germany, Dominican sisters found creative ways to participate in this quintessentially Dominican ritual without breaking the bounds of enclosure.

None of the German ordinarium translations present such alternate solutions. Only the Speyer and Zurich translators managed to produce usable ritual instructions, in both cases by eliminating the communal procession from the ritual. The Zurich translator accomplished this adjustment most effectively by using a solution suggested already in the standard Latin ordinarium. There, the conclusion of the section on the *Salve regina* procession suggested that “if the exterior space is not suitable for the procession, or if there is a marked paucity of friars, it is not necessary to go out, but rather everything should be done in the choir, but with the candle-bearers nevertheless standing before the steps of the sanctuary in the aforesaid manner [si locus exterior non est aptus ad processionem, vel si Fratres fuerint pauci notabiliter, non oportet exire extra, sed in Choro fiant omnia, ceroferariis tamen secundum modum supradictum stantibus ante gradus Presbyterii].”⁸⁵ This is precisely the solution proposed in the Zurich translation. At the start of the ritual, “two sisters with two candles on

candlesticks should go in front of the steps [son zwo swestern mit zwein kerzen vf kerzstaln gan fúr die grete],”⁸⁶ while the rest of the community remains in the choir stalls. The Zurich translator successfully deployed his expert familiarity with the Latin ordinarium to tweak the ritual instructions for women’s use.

The Speyer translation is largely similar, except that it lacks this instruction for the candle-bearers. They are to remain standing when the rest of the choir kneels, but the text does not call for them to leave their seats. The only liturgical actors who exit the choir stalls are the chantresses, who on duplex and totum duplex feasts intone the chant from the space in the middle of the choir, and the hebdomadarian, whose movement is implied in the activity of sprinkling the community with holy water.⁸⁷ (The Latin original also lacks specificity regarding the hebdomadarian’s ritual role.) Both these translations render coherent ritual instructions that differ only with regard to the location of the candle-bearers.

The successful adaptations of the Zurich and Speyer translations highlight the inexpert approaches of the other translators, who all failed to handle the *Salve regina* procession elegantly. The Colmar translator, in keeping with his usual procedure, rendered the full passage in its entirety. Although he inclusively refers to the musical leaders as “cantor or chantress [senger oder sengerin],” the rest of the community appears only as “friars [brüdere].”⁸⁸ It is uncertain what he thought sisters would do with this information. Still, an attentive reader would notice the same option exploited by the Zurich translator—namely, that the community might remain in the choir stalls while the candle-bearers went to stand before the steps of the altar. The Colmar translator’s failure to adapt the ordinarium displaced the need for liturgical expertise onto the users of the manuscript, likely the chantresses of the Unterlinden convent.

The Nuremberg and Freiburg translations display the opposite problem from that of Colmar, in that they excised too much without ensuring that the resulting text is coherent. Unlike the Zurich translator, neither the Nuremberg nor the Freiburg translator inserted the instruction that the candle-bearers should go stand before the altar at the beginning of the chapter. Nevertheless, the Nuremberg translator did note at the end of the chapter that the candle-bearers should return to their places in the choir stalls after singing the versicle *Dignare me*.⁸⁹ Without any initial

instructions for the candle-bearers' movement, it is not clear where they are supposed to have gone that they would be returning at the end of the ritual. The Freiburg translator pared the instructions down to the absolute minimum, removing all mention of the candle-bearers, such that it is no longer even evident who is supposed to recite the versicle *Dignare me*.⁹⁰ Users of the Freiburg and Nuremberg translations required recourse to another authoritative source, a liturgical expert, or perhaps institutional memory to choreograph a complete ritual from the text given.

The *Salve regina* procession after compline created difficulties for women's communities because a procession into the external church would violate convent enclosure. The translators (except apparently for the Colmar friar) grasped that the *Salve regina* procession was not possible for strictly enclosed sisters to perform in the way it was described in the Latin ordinarium. Despite the fact that the Latin ordinarium provided a viable alternative—that the candle-bearers stand at the altar steps while the rest of the community remained at their seats—only the Zurich translator capably adapted the rubrics accordingly. None of the solutions, viable or not, correspond to any of the admittedly sparse evidence from women's communities about their actual practices. These texts instead represent the largely unimaginative and uninformed attempts of Dominican friars to accommodate the strictures of their sisters' enclosure. The order's failure to address ritual difference between friars and sisters resulted in divergent, inadequate ordinaria that fostered ritual diversity among women's communities.

Mass Ritual and Matins Lessons: Supplementing the Ordinarium

The male producers of these German-language ordinarium translations not only omitted or adapted passages inappropriate for enclosed women, they also added texts to supplement the ordinarium's instructions. Some of these additions recorded decisions of the general chapter, like the marginal annotations in the Latin manuscripts discussed in [Chapter 3](#). In some cases, the scribes added new or local feasts and decisions of the general chapter in lists at the end, rather than annotating such information in the proper place within the text of the ordinarium. Both the Zurich translation and the

Freiburg translation have appendixes of this type, with one Freiburg witness bearing the most explicit mention of the general chapter, including the year in which the measure was confirmed and the city in which the general chapter had convened (1410 in Bologna).⁹¹ However, most of the German-language appendixes consist of additional material that did not, strictly speaking, belong in the ordinarium at all and which translators sourced from other liturgical books.

Rubrics from the missal and the lectionary are found in more than one witness, sometimes common to all manuscripts of a particular translation, sometimes as independent additions unique to a certain manuscript.⁹² This practice was common, if perhaps not universal. The gatherings at the end of the Colmar manuscript and the Speyer translation have been lost such that most of the mass portion of each ordinarium translation is now missing and it is no longer possible to reconstruct how the texts ended. However, all of the complete German-language ordinarium manuscripts contain further material, extraneous to the standard ordinarium, as appendixes at the end of the codex. Translating supplementary rubrics from other sources represented an attempt to fix the ordinarium, which, when translated into German, became unmoored from the system of liturgical books that it organized and coordinated.

Mixed Missals: Assembling Rubrics for Mass

The manuscripts containing the Freiburg translation (especially Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45) contain a great amount of additional material from other liturgical books, including both missals.⁹³ As noted in [Chapter 3](#), the ordinarium lacked any detailed description of the forms and gestures of the mass, which were located at the beginning of the conventual missal (for masses with the full community) and the private missal (for masses said apart from the community, whether in a side chapel or while traveling). The selections from the missals excerpted in the St. Agnes manuscript are tailored to the circumstances of women's communities, in particular the lack of deacons and subdeacons available to assist the priest at the altar. The translator produced a set of instructions for mass that could actually be used for women's liturgies by mixing passages from the conventual and from the private missal.

The passage from the conventual missal excerpts the instructions that are relevant for the whole community, leaving aside the detailed ritual actions of the celebrant.⁹⁴ It begins with instructions concerning the number of candles to place on the altar for feasts of various ranks.⁹⁵ Women's communities had at least one consecrated altar in the choir, which they did touch, clean, and decorate (prohibitions notwithstanding), but men were not admitted to the women's enclosure to celebrate mass on it.⁹⁶ A priest performed the rites of the mass on the high altar in the convent's external church. Interestingly, the St. Agnes manuscript adds a note that, "at mass, on the altar over which mass is held, the same [zũ der meß, vf dem altar do man die meß vf haltet, och also]."⁹⁷ This remark reveals that the foregoing instructions all pertain to the altar in the sisters' choir and that, in addition, candles should be placed on the appropriate altar in the external church during mass. Even this small issue of the candles highlights a major difference in practice between men's and women's communities. Enclosure prevented Dominican sisters from being present at the altar on which mass was celebrated.

The remainder of the rubrics excerpted from the conventual missal pertain only to community action. They include the *Asperges* ceremony before mass on Sundays (during which the community was sprinkled with holy water)⁹⁸ as well as admonitions not to sing the *Sanctus* too slowly and to cross oneself at the word *Benedictus*.⁹⁹ The excerpts mention the gospel reading, solely to instruct that the community turn toward the altar and cross themselves.¹⁰⁰ The translator thus attentively limited his excerpts to the community's pious gesture, meaning that he did not expect women to be reading the gospel at mass. Throughout, the translator cherry-picked the passages from the conventual missal that concerned the ritual gestures made by the whole community and which were therefore also appropriate for the sisters, although not included in the ordinarium.

The translator drew the actions performed at the altar not from the conventual missal but instead from the private missal. From that source, he lifted the duties of the altar servers, including both preparatory activities (e.g., laying out the correct vestments and checking that the wine is clean), as well as ceremonial assistance (e.g., moving the candle about with the missal during mass so that the priest can see).¹⁰¹ These were responsibilities that someone needed to fulfill at mass for a women's community, but

certainly not one of the sisters. Accordingly, whereas the translator adjusted the gender of the nouns and pronouns in the passage drawn from the conventual missal, the excerpt from the private missal maintained masculine forms (*der diener*).¹⁰² The translator may have considered it expedient to provide the sisters with these instructions in order to inform the external sacristans or churchwardens who performed these duties in the external church. The Freiburg translation thus supplements the ordinarium both with ritual gestures that the sisters themselves should perform at mass but which are lacking in the ordinarium, as well as guidelines for duties that a male assistant must perform in the external church on their behalf.

The combined rubrics drawn partly from the conventual and partly from the private missal reflect the different circumstances of mass in a women's community. In the conventual missal, the rites over the altar call for a priest, a deacon, a subdeacon, as well as acolytes to assist them—that is, no fewer than three persons ordained to major orders plus an unspecified number of assistants ordained to minor orders.¹⁰³ A Dominican friar would have no difficulty assembling this large team, but because women were not permitted to be ordained, communities of Dominican sisters could not reliably command this kind of personnel. The private missal was designed for individual use apart from the community—for example, when a friar was traveling—so its ritual guidelines call only for two people: one ordained priest and one altar server, whom the rubrics do not anticipate is ordained. This scenario is more feasible for women's communities, but it meant that, from their perspective, the sisters celebrated a conventual mass while, from the priest's perspective, he celebrated a private mass. The Freiburg translator accommodated this situation by creating hybrid mass rubrics, drawing the ritual gestures of the community from the conventual missal but the actions at the altar from the private missal. In this way, he fixed the ordinarium's lack of ritual instructions for mass by attentively selecting excerpts from each missal to accommodate the divergent liturgical circumstances created by women's enclosure.

Fixing the Fall Calendar: Rubrics for Scheduling Lessons

The inclusion of rubrics from the lectionary fills a pure gap in the ordinarium, which almost never mentions matins lessons. The manuscripts

of the Freiburg and Zurich translations contain instructions not for ritual actions but rather for the Dominican order's peculiar method of scheduling lessons. Other liturgies, such as the Cistercian order's, required that certain books of the Bible be read in their entirety; therefore, weekday lessons were postponed to another day when they conflicted with a saint's feast. In contrast, the Dominican order prescribed a set of unique matins lessons for every day of the year, Sundays and ferial days (weekdays) alike. In cases of scheduling conflicts, the assigned ferial lessons would not be rescheduled but simply skipped for that year because there was already another lesson planned for every other day.¹⁰⁴ The only lessons that could not be skipped were the first readings from each biblical book. As the Dominican Rite added new feasts over time, rescheduling these opening lessons became increasingly complex.

This regulation is transmitted in all three complete manuscripts of the Zurich translation. The translator only slightly garbled the Latin instructions, which direct that "on the first free weekdays, one or two of the lessons indicated for Sunday should be read, and on the other weekdays, the lessons assigned to them should be read [in primis feriis uacantibus una uel duabus legendum est de leccionibus signatis pro dominica & aliis feriis legentur lecciones eisdem assignate]."¹⁰⁵ The principle is as clear in German as it is in Latin:

One should note that, wherever lessons for the Temporale are indicated on their particular day, if any feast falls on such a day, the lessons should not be read later. Instead, those that are indicated for a regulated day should be read on their day, unless such a feast falls on a Sunday when one is supposed to start a new *historia* [i.e., a new book of the Bible]. In this case, on one or two of the first free weekdays, one should read some of the lessons that are indicated for Sunday. And on the weekdays, one reads the lessons that are indicated for them.

Wan sol merken, swa die leccien von der zit gezeichnet sint an ir gewissen tag, vallet kein hochzit an derkeinem tag, so sol man die lectien hin nach nit lesen. Sunder die, die dem regelichen tag gezeichnet sint, sol man lesen an ir tage, wan echt so ein hochzit

kumet an einen sunnentag, an dem man eine núwe hystorie anvahen sol. So sol man an einer ald zwein dien ersten leren ferien lectien lesen von den lectien, die dem sunnentag gezeichnet sint. Vnd lese man an den ferien die leccien, die in gezeichnet sint.¹⁰⁶

Bible readings are skipped in favor of a saint's feast, except the ones that begin a new book of the Bible; those lessons should be rescheduled. We will return to this scheduling principle in [Chapter 5](#), where I discuss how the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg rescheduled the opening of Genesis in 1466, when the feast of the Purification (February 2) conflicted with Septuagesima Sunday. By including these lectionary rubrics in his ordinarium, the Zurich translator prepared the sisters with more complete instructions than the ordinarium alone contained.

The busy period of autumn Ordinary Time from August through October posed a problem because there were both a lot of saints' feasts and a lot of biblical books to be covered. The standard Latin lectionary included two sets of extensive rubrics, one prefacing the lessons at the beginning of August and a second in the middle of the period just before the third Sunday in September.¹⁰⁷ The rubrics anticipated which weekday lessons might conflict with which saints' feasts on their fixed dates and which Bible book openings might be affected and require rescheduling. The Zurich translation and two manuscripts of the Freiburg translation gathered these rubrics into a coherent set of instructions appended at the end of the ordinarium.

However, by the end of the fifteenth century, the lectionary excerpts that had been circulating for a hundred years were obsolete. These rubrics had been translated from the 1259 lectionary and did not account for any of the saints' feasts or observances that the general chapter had introduced in the intervening two hundred years. For example, the feasts of St. Louis (August 25; introduced 1301) and St. Wenceslas (September 28; introduced 1298) now displaced Temporale lessons wherever they fell. The largest disruption was caused by the Tuesday observances for Dominic (introduced 1364), which suppressed a day's worth of Bible matins lessons every week. The attentive efforts of the Zurich and Freiburg translators were overcome by liturgical change.

One manuscript of the Zurich translation, owned by St. Verena in Zurich, contains an addition with new instructions for the lessons in Ordinary Time, provided for them by Friar Johannes Schön in 1488, about a decade after the codex had initially been completed.¹⁰⁸ This friar set out an exhaustive schedule for each possible configuration of the calendar, organized by Dominical letters A–G. (See [Chapter 1](#) for Dominical letters.) This organization allowed one to predict which day of the week each saint’s feast would fall on; one could know, for example, if Wenceslas was going to be on a Tuesday and suppress Dominic’s weekly office, or on a Wednesday where he would suppress a Bible reading. (Observant Dominican convents obtained similar updated lectionary instructions, but they kept them in a separate supplemental manual, the directorium discussed in [Chapter 5](#).) The other fixes that I discuss in this chapter almost exclusively adapt the contents of the Dominican ordinarium for the circumstances of women’s liturgy. In contrast, these updated instructions for scheduling the Temporale lessons around saints’ feasts more closely resemble the interventions in the schedule of mass collects examined in [Chapter 3](#). Both cases concern exhaustive instructions for practices on weekdays throughout the year, but those practices were disrupted by the general chapter’s innovations (especially the Tuesday observances for Dominic) and the repercussions were never formally addressed.

In general, the inclusion of rubrics from other liturgical books signals a degree of familiarity with the ordinarium and coordination of Dominican liturgy. It took experience and a modicum of critical thought to realize that the Dominican ordinarium was not, in fact, a fully comprehensive compendium; rather, it complemented the other standard Dominican liturgical books. Knowing what these missing rubrics were and where to find them required expertise in the Dominican liturgical system. Not all translators made this step, however, and even different witnesses of the same translation contain different amounts of these supplemental rubrics. Not all producers of German-language ordinaria brought the same degree of expertise and attention to their task.

The Non-Martyred Empress: Adding Local Saints

I close this chapter with a final type of addition that does reveal local adaptation and engagement in liturgical planning: the feasts of local saints. In [Appendix 4](#), I use the unique constellations of saints that appear in each manuscript to suggest rough dates of production and locations of use. These arguments represent a practical approach to the information recorded in the manuscript witnesses. However, the fact that such information is contained in the manuscripts at all demands further reflection because it indicates that many (not all) of these documents were adapted not just for women's liturgy in general but for a specific convent of Dominican sisters. The manuscripts of the Freiburg translation contain telling sets of local saints, but I focus on the Zurich translation here, in order to revisit a problem that I raised in [Chapter 3](#): the fact that Empress Kunigunde had not been martyred.

The three complete manuscripts of the Zurich translation provide clear evidence for the successive incorporation of new and local feasts when new manuscripts were copied. The oldest (Munich, BSB, cgm 168) betrays its Zurich origins not only through the use of the Swiss variant *tult* for "feast" but also through the collection of saints appended at the end of the ordinarium by the main scribe.¹⁰⁹ Heading the list is Charlemagne, who allegedly had founded the Zurich Großmünster. On the strength of this fabulous claim, that church was able to acquire relics of Charlemagne from Aachen in 1233, spurring greater veneration of the emperor saint throughout the city.¹¹⁰ Cementing the manuscript's Zurich connection, Charlemagne is followed by the Swiss saints Verena of Zurzach and Theodolus, bishop of Sion (Valais).

Placing these local saints at the end of the manuscript conformed to the instructions for regional observances that were provided within the standard ordinarium itself. The same passage that permitted Dominican communities to observe locally important feasts also forbade them from integrating these feasts into their liturgical books.

The feasts of saints who are solemnly observed in the places where friars dwell can be celebrated by them, their liturgies sung and their legends read, even though they are not written in the order's calendar. Nevertheless, those liturgies and legends that are not in the order's antiphoners and lectionaries should not be inserted among

the others, nor their collects or *officia* [i.e., mass liturgies] in the missals. Instead, they can be placed at the end of the books or in a separate quaternion. In the martyrology, the names of such saints can be entered in their place in the margin, unless they are there elsewhere.

Festivitates Sanctorum quae solemnes habentur in locis in quibus Fratres commorantur, possunt ab eis solemniter celebrari et cantari historiae, et legendae legi, licet in calendario Ordinis non sint scriptae. Quorum tamen historiae vel legendae non sunt in Antiphonariis et Lectionariis Ordinis, nec orationes vel officia in Missalibus inter alia inserenda; sed in fine librorum poni poterunt, vel in quaternis seorsum haberi. In Martyrologio vero talium Sanctorum nomina, nisi alias ibi fuerint, in margine suo loco ponantur.¹¹¹

Dominican communities were allowed to celebrate locally important saints, but they were not supposed to corrupt the uniformity of Dominican liturgical books by inserting extraneous saints among the order's approved set. The earliest witness of the Zurich ordinarium translation thus follows its own instructions by adding the local Zurich saints in a list appended to the end of the text.

These instructions about local saints explicitly mention the antiphoner, the lectionary, the missal, and the martyrology, but they do not say anything about the ordinarium itself. This oversight meant that it was not expressly forbidden for enterprising scribes to insert local saints at their appropriate locations within the ordinarium. When they copied a new manuscript of the Zurich translation in the 1450s, the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg accordingly incorporated Emperor Henry II and Empress Kunigunde (founders of the Bamberg diocese), as well as St. Sebald (the city's patron saint), in their calendrical locations within the ordinarium text body.¹¹² Such a procedure required a degree of attention and intent that should not be taken for granted. Friar Johannes Höfflin did not bother to do this when copying the ordinarium for St. Verena in Zurich. Just as in the fourteenth-century manuscript, Höfflin's 1477 copy still bears Charlemagne, Theodolus, and Verena at the head of a list appended to the end.¹¹³

Kunigunde's insertion in the Nuremberg copy raises another interesting issue of adaptation. As the anonymous Nuremberg friar already flagged in his list of *dubia* compiled in 1421, the order's provided liturgy for the common of a virgin was not appropriate for female saints who had not been martyred. Therefore, "it should be asked what in the first responsory should be said instead of: 'for whose love you spilled your blood'; similarly, in the fourth responsory, instead of where it says: 'you were made pleasing to God through struggle,' and in the verse of the same where it says: 'laughed at torments, trampled oppressions' [queritur quid in primo responsorio dicendum sit pro eo quod dicitur: 'pro cuius amore sanguinem tuum fudisti'; similiter in quarto responsorio pro eo quod dicitur: 'grata facta es a Domino in certamine,' et in versu eiusdem pro eo quod dicitur: 'tormenta derisit, premia calcavit']."¹¹⁴ Empress Kunigunde, co-founder of the bishopric of Bamberg, fell precisely into this category of important, locally celebrated virgin who had not been murdered.¹¹⁵ What to sing for non-martyred virgins was an actual problem facing the Nuremberg Dominican communities.

The entry for Kunigunde's Translation (September 9) that the sisters of St. Katherine inserted into their copy of the Zurich ordinarium deals explicitly with the issue identified by the Nuremberg friar thirty years prior ([Figure 6](#)). It even treats exactly the same passages he identified. Their German-language ordinarium advises that "in place of 'you poured out your blood,' one sings 'you conquered a wicked world' in the first responsory; and for 'torments' in the verse *Erecta*, one sings 'flatteries' [fur 'sanguinem tuum fudisti' singt man 'seculum nequam vicisti' in dem ersten Responsorium, vnd fur 'tormenta' in dem vers *Erecta* singt man 'plandimenta']."¹¹⁶ Rather than swapping out entire responsories because of a couple inapplicable words, the sisters' German ordinarium prescribes replacement phrases, which made the generic Dominican office for a virgin more appropriate to the local Bamberg patroness, Empress Kunigunde. Given that the friars had the same problem, did they devise this solution? Or did the sisters innovate this for themselves? There is no evidence one way or the other. Two further ordinarium manuscripts survive from the convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg: a second German-language version that had been translated for them by the friars, as well as the thoroughly updated Latin one discussed in [Chapter 3](#). Neither of these other

manuscripts incorporated the local saints or even appended them at the end, so it is impossible to cross-check against other Nuremberg sources.

This fact in itself, however, highlights the variety of ways in which scribes and communities handled adjusting the ordinarium to local circumstances. The three manuscripts containing the same Zurich translation display two different ways of including local saints: in a list at the end or integrated into the text. Furthermore, of the three surviving ordinarium manuscripts (with three different texts!) all owned by the same community of St. Katherine in Nuremberg, one integrated the local saints into the text while the other two lacked them entirely. This same diversity of approach characterized the translators' methods for adapting the ordinarium text to the restrictions placed on women's liturgy.

Conclusion: Books to Live By

In 1445, Anna of Sissach traveled from St. Mary Magdalene in Basel to St. Michael's Island in Bern to take over as prioress of a struggling Observant reform. Between her efforts and those of Friar Johannes Meyer, who showed up there for his first assignment as a confessor in 1454, the Bern community's book collection blossomed with copies of everything one might need to live perfectly as Dominican sisters according to the Observant reform. They obtained

a new collectarium and other Latin books that are useful for the choir; also, the ordinarium or the rubrics of the order in German; the *Book of Duties* for sisters in German; the sister books in German; the rule, the constitutions, and the commentary in German, and many more that are a consolation and a help to the sisters in abiding by the holy Observance.

einen neuen collectarium und ander lateinsche bücher, die dem chor fürderlichen worent; auch die nattel oder ruberick des ordens ze teutzsche; das amptbuch der swestern ze teutzsche; daz buch der swesternleben ze teutzsche; die regel, die constitucio, die exposicio ze tutzsch und ander vil, die den swestern tröstlichen und hilflichen sind zu der behaltung der heiligen observanz.¹¹⁷

In der ersten vesper ist
acht an Matritas tua
Durch die oct somum
von der oct spricht vnd
an d' oct hinhalt als
in dem hochzeit. In se
nachgeide an spricht
man durch die actone
teyllich zu bnd vnd zu
acht so zu der memorie
zu bn an maria vrego
zu acht an dea maria
An sint Gorgony tu
tult oro Scaß negud
An den nechsten tag
nach nativitas marie
so ist das fest kunegudie
simplex zu der ersten
vesp en memorie an
Ista est vgo v' diffusa e
oro Ompe t' m' coros
deus q' Glia. Humette
vnn' h' u' obtentu
Glia pei ge fur singt
vnn' tuu' fudyst singt
man selin neqm' v' u' h'
in dem erst & vnd fur
corneta in dem v' Eer
ta singt man plandi

menta vnd d' and'
als von der gemayn
one Junckfrawen
An sant Vermigie
An sant Vermigien
Ist singt man vnn'
zudez metten also
Iste confessor d' m' scara
tus sobrius castus
fuit et quietus man
singt mit das letst
halbtel des ersten v'
noch d' erst halptel
des and' v'. d' and'
singt man als oro
Deus qui p' p' p' h'
An der heiligen mit
prothi et iarmeti oro
b'oz An des heiluy
en ceutzee tult
An des heiligen ceuz
es tult zuuefpub die
pe an' Oaux adim
tabilis cap michi
absit & plua vnn'
salue v' hoc signu'
uber acht an Ceux
fidelis oro Deus qui
nos a memoie von den
heiligen mit Cornelio

Figure 6. The Office of Empress Kunigunde in the Zurich translation of the ordinarium owned by St. Katherine in Nuremberg. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 88v.

As Claudia Engler observes, this list of books is not only a real record of the acquisitions made by Anna of Sissach, assisted by Meyer, but also an idealized set of the works necessary in an Observant Dominican library.¹¹⁸

Meyer translated Humbert of Romans's *Book of Duties* himself, but some of these works they sourced, as I argue in [Appendix 4](#), from the non-Observant convent of Oetenbach in Zurich. Previous scholarship has shown that both the Augustinian rule and the Dominican sisters' constitutions were already circulating in German-language translation in the fourteenth century.¹¹⁹ Like the rule and constitutions, the ordinarium was a centralized document governing all Dominican convents, not just the newly reformed Observants. The Bern community did not need a new translation. The hundred-year-old version from Oetenbach would do.

Yet, by the time Meyer arrived in Bern, a German ordinarium translated by Observant friars had in fact already existed for twenty-five years. When the convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg joined the Observance in December 1428, the local friars embarked on a major translation campaign to provide the sisters with certified German versions of the most important documents, spearheaded by Friar Georg Falder-Pistoris (1354–1452), prior of the friary from 1429 to 1434.¹²⁰ The sisters documented the friars' labors in their library catalog, where the books marked as having been donated by the friars include a German translation of the Augustinian rule in the *regularis informatio* version, Humbert of Romans's commentary on the rule, Humbert's *Book of Duties*, a collection of canon law, and the standard ordinarium.¹²¹

Despite the friars' efforts, when Observant sisters from Schönensteinbach to Bern to Nuremberg tried to implement the liturgical instructions they had been given, they found an incomplete and occasionally faulty set of directives. The circumstances of Dominican sisters, especially the prohibition against service at the altar and the practice of strict enclosure, meant that their sacred spaces and possibilities for liturgical action were different from those of the friars. In order to make the document usable for women's communities, translators undertook to make

these adjustments themselves in the process of translation; however, these attempts did not always meet with great success.

Most of the translations exhibit stark abbreviations, omitting ritual actions and liturgical texts that women did not perform. The Zurich and Nuremberg translations even excised half of the incipits from each entry with mass propers because women did not read prayers or Bible texts at mass. Without this information, the sisters were forced to trust that their celebrant, his assistants, and/or their external sacristan were organized, competent, and reliable, as the sisters would not be able to corroborate that these men were providing the women's community with accurate divine service. The translators also omitted or adapted rituals that violated the sisters' enclosure, although there were in fact situations in which women would need these ritual guidelines. Some translations contained additional rubrics from other liturgical books, but even this was not always useful. As the sisters quickly discovered, the lectionary's instructions for scheduling matins lessons had long since become obsolete because new saints' feasts and the Tuesday observances for Dominic disrupted the system that had been designed in 1256. The standard Latin ordinarium was not usable for sisters because it did not account for the restrictions of convent enclosure and it had not kept up with liturgical change. The diverse solutions of the German translations met these needs with varying and only partial success.

Motivated by a reform movement that advocated a strictly regulated communal life, Dominican sisters of the Observance developed supplementary manuals that addressed the uncertainties left by the imperfect ordinarium translations. Disseminating these manuals through the networks of reform, liturgical experts among the Observant sisters supplemented their German ordinaria with fuller and more up-to-date instructions. They sought hereby to permanently fix a uniform liturgical practice, at least in the reformed communities, by means of the directoria.

CHAPTER 5

Women Implementing and Resisting Liturgical Change

The German-Language Directoria

When Schönensteinbach was founded in 1397 as the first Observant convent north of the Alps, the sisters were entrusted to the spiritual care of the Observant friars in Colmar.¹ This relationship meant not only that a Colmar friar served as confessor to the Schönensteinbach sisters but also that the sisters turned to Colmar with questions about the order's liturgical regulations.² As the only women's community outside of Italy boasting this unusually strict form of adherence to Dominican law, it was imperative that the sisters of Schönensteinbach align their practice with the order's liturgical legislation, insofar as this was even possible by the early fifteenth century. Sometime after Schönensteinbach was founded, one of the sisters (perhaps the chantress, Sister Dorothea of Ostren) began to record her solutions for thorny problems in the *ordinarium*, together with advice she received from the Colmar friars. This sister's surviving notes, and those recorded by women like her over the next 150 years, explode any lingering preconceptions about rote automaticity in medieval liturgy. Straightforward instructions no longer existed. Through years of legislation, the Dominican liturgical system had become so complex that friars and sisters required extensive knowledge and critical intelligence to plan liturgical performance. These sisters' records witness both to the messy complexity of fifteenth-century Dominican liturgy and to the deep expertise of the cantors and chantresses who managed it.

One entry about the feasts of Michael the Archangel (September 29), St. Jerome (September 30), and St. Remigius (October 1) exemplifies the intimate familiarity with Dominican liturgy, the knowledge of legislative changes, the analytical approach, the collaboration with friars, and the first-person language characteristic of these documents. Originally, Michael's feast had the rank of duplex, Jerome's had the rank of simplex, and Remigius had only three lessons.³ Since feasts of the rank simplex and greater were celebrated with two vespers and three-lesson feasts began on the prior evening, these feasts overlapped two nights in a row. Feasts of greater rank trumped feasts of lesser rank, so each day the following feast was downgraded to a *memoria* in the overlapping vespers.⁴ This pattern was disrupted in 1296, when Pope Boniface VIII elevated all doctors of the church, including Jerome, to the rank of duplex.⁵ Duplex feasts completely suppressed three-lesson feasts, so Remigius's vespers *memoria* was eliminated entirely.⁶ In 1326–28, the Dominican general chapter elevated Michael's feast to *totum duplex* and then, confusingly, mandated *memoriae* throughout his octave (1329–31).⁷ As this chantress notes, Michael's octave by *memoriae* differed from the usual practice of singing the saint's office throughout the week as if it were a three-lesson feast.⁸

The ordinarium says: If a three-lesson feast falls on the day after a duplex or totum duplex feast, then one should not observe a memoria for the three-lesson feast on the foregoing vespers. And therefore, I was surprised that a memoria for the angels [i.e., Michael] is sung on the feast of St. Jerome because it is not the kind of octave for which one sings the office and mass, so I wrote to Colmar. I received the response that it is correct, because it is written: *A memoria is done throughout the octave with no exceptions, therefore, etc., unless it were totum duplex, and similar, and nevertheless a memoria of three lessons is not done, if it is on a duplex feast.* The ordinarium of the Colmar preachers [i.e., the Dominican friars] says that no memoria is in the first vespers when *three lessons* fall on the day after a duplex feast, unless otherwise instructed.

An dem notel stat: Wenn ein hochzit driger leccen kvnt morndis nach einem hochzit dvplex oder totvm dvplex, so sol man ze der vordren vesper kein memorie da von halten, von den drin leccen. Vnd da von nam es mich wvnder, dz man an sant jeronimus tag die memorie von den englen sang, wond es nüt ein sölich octaf ist, von der man zit vnd messe singe, vnd ich sreib es gen colmar. Do ward mir her wider gesriben, dz es recht were, wond es stat gesriben: *Memoria fiat per octavas & nichil excipitur ergo &c.*, es wer denn totvm dvplex & *enim simile & tamen non recipetur memoria trium leccionum si esset in festo duplici.* Der von colmar notel ze den prediern seit, dz kein memorie ist in der ersten vesper, so *tres lecciones* gevallet morndis nach einem hochzit dz dvplex ist, es werde denn noch etwenn geordenet.⁹

In other words, since commemorations throughout the octave are supposed to be like three-lesson feasts, and since three-lesson feasts are suppressed by duplex feasts, then why does one sing a memoria for Michael on the evening of Jerome's feast but not for Remigius, whose three-lesson feast was actually starting? The unsatisfying answer she received from Colmar amounts to: Because the general chapter said so.

The chantress's query in this matter reveals the same detailed attention and breadth of knowledge as the Nuremberg friar's 1421 treatise discussed in [Chapter 3](#). She knew the generic rules for each rank of feast, the principles for coordinating overlapping vespers, and the general chapter's legislation concerning Michael and Jerome. She possessed the shrewd intelligence to put all this information together and realize that it did not add up. Perplexed by the inconsistent rubrics, she turned to her spiritual fathers, the friars in Colmar, to make sure she was not missing any clarifications that might be recorded in their ordinarium but not in hers. The friars replied, telling her not what she should do but rather what their ordinarium said, thus still leaving it up to her to make sense of the confusing instructions. Although primarily in German, the entry attests to a working knowledge of administrative Latin, with Latin rubrics seamlessly incorporated into German commentary.

As I demonstrate in this chapter, women within convents of the Observant reform sought to fix the complexities that plagued the Dominican liturgical system in the fifteenth century. The issues handled in these records resulted from legislative change or regional variance and therefore affected friars just as much as sisters. In the absence of similar documents from friaries (perhaps some will yet come to light), women's records provide valuable evidence for the entire order's liturgy during this period. The German-language documents that I call directoria show how Dominicans fixed their liturgies, in both senses of the word: repairing a system grown unwieldy and preserving cherished traditions.

Transmission and Collaboration: The Observant Directoria

Of the manuscripts I examine in this chapter, ten belonged to Observant convents and two to non-Observant communities. Only one has previously been studied: the directorium from the non-Observant convent of Engelthal. Marius Schramke described this text as a *Direktorium*, and I have adopted the term for these liturgical manuals supplementing the standard ordinarium.¹⁰ The term “directorium” has historically been used in liturgical scholarship to describe several different kinds of books. I encourage readers who are familiar with other genres of directorium (both historical and those still in use today) to read the extensive disambiguation provided in [Appendix 5](#) before continuing with the rest of this chapter.

The Manuscripts of the Observant Directoria

Unlike the German-language ordinarium translations, which circulated between non-Observant and Observant communities, the transmission of the directoria is strictly divided. The ten directoria surviving from Observant convents contain a shared base text that can be traced from its origin in Schönensteinbach through the networks of the Observance. Annotations in these manuscripts adjust the directives to local circumstances and regional devotions, but their primary goal is restoring the uniformity of a correct Dominican liturgy. In contrast, the two directoria that survive from non-Observant communities were compiled independently of the Observant manuals and of each other. They both were compiled in the early sixteenth century solely for use in the convent where they were written, and there is no evidence that they were ever disseminated. Instead, they likely were produced in order to protect local practices against the incursions of the Observant reform. Although these two groups of directoria had opposing purposes—one set to establish uniformity and one set to protect diversity—all of them were composed, copied, and used by women to supplement the inadequacies of the standard Dominican ordinarium. In this chapter, I focus primarily on the Observant directoria and treat the non-Observant directoria briefly at the end.

1. Freiburg im Breisgau, Stadtarchiv, B3 Nr. 25; Sanctoriale; Schönensteinbach, transferred to St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg (date unknown); scribe unknown; catalog description: Hagenmaier, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 193–94, dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/sta-b3-025 (accessed 5 August 2023).
2. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter pap. 5; Temporale; St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg (after 1465); scribe unknown; Niebler, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter*, 1:8–9, digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/titleinfo/76298 (accessed 5 August 2023).
3. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y; Sanctoriale; St. Katherine in Nuremberg (1429); Margareta Karteuserin; Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 135–36.
4. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VII, 89; Temporale; St. Katherine in Nuremberg (1429); Margareta Karteuserin; Schneider, 404.
5. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 66; Sanctoriale; Weiler near Esslingen (after 1478); scribe unknown; no published catalog;¹¹ digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/kxp1735727385 (accessed 5 August 2023).
6. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 69; Temporale; Weiler near Esslingen (after 1478); scribe unknown; no published catalog; digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/kxp1735729108 (accessed 5 August 2023).

7. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VI, 69; Sanctorale; St. Katherine in Nuremberg (1467); Elisabeth Schürstabin; Schneider, 217–18.
- 8a. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, ff. 147r–157v; Temporale (fragment); St. Katherine in Nuremberg (1467); Elisabeth Schürstabin and an unknown scribe; Schneider, 391–93.
- 8b. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, ff. 158r–end; Sanctorale; St. Katherine in Nuremberg (date unknown); Klara Keiperin and later annotators; Schneider, 391–93.
9. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i; Temporale ff. 1r–133r, Sanctorale ff. 138r–end; St. Katherine in Nuremberg (1484); scribe unknown; Schneider, 105–6.
10. Wil, Dominikanerinnenkloster, M 8; Temporale ff. 1r–141r, Sanctorale ff. 142r–end; St. Katherine in St. Gallen (1488); Regina Sattler and Cordula of Schönau; Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen*, 287–89.

Patterns of Transmission, Networks of Women

The liturgical advice recorded in Schönensteinbach formed the first Observant directorium, probably compiled and organized in 1419. This year brought two significant events for Dominicans in the German southwest: The first general chapter of the reunified order post-Schism was convened in Freiburg im Breisgau, and Schönensteinbach was first called upon to reform another convent. Among the sisters sent from Schönensteinbach to reform nearby Unterlinden in Colmar was the chantress, Dorothea of Ostren.¹² Perhaps in order to forestall the loss of institutional knowledge, Sister Dorothea or her successor arranged her notes either in anticipation or in the aftermath of her departure. However these documents originated, when the Schönensteinbach sisters next reformed another convent (St. Katherine in Nuremberg in 1428–29), the reform chantress Sister Margareta Karteuserin immediately produced a copy of these directoria for her new community. Karteuserin hereby established a tradition that continued throughout the fifteenth century, as these directoria were copied and transmitted with Observant reformers.

The Observant directoria can be grouped into two recensions, both of which lead back to Schönensteinbach. ([Appendix 5](#) contains a fuller description of these manuscripts and their relationships to each other.) One pair of manuscripts belonged to St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg im Breisgau, which was reformed by Schönensteinbach sisters in 1465. All other extant manuscripts derive from Karteuserin's 1429 directoria. One copy of the Nuremberg recension likely traveled with the reforming party to St. Mary Magdalene in Pforzheim in 1442, through which it was transmitted to Weiler near Esslingen, reformed in 1478. Back in Nuremberg, Karteuserin's directoria were organized and recopied by Sister Elisabeth Schürstabin in 1467. Her surviving Sanctorale volume was loaned for a time to the convent of Maria Medingen near Dillingen; Schürstabin herself was sent to Medingen with a reform party in 1472. Most of her Temporale volume is now lost, except for the first quire, which was (inexplicably) later bound together with Nuremberg's copy of the Zurich ordinarium translation, as well as a Sanctorale directorium copied by Sister Klara Keiperin, the convent librarian. Finally, in 1484 or 1485, the Nuremberg sisters produced yet another set of surviving directoria in order to share their practices with the unincorporated community of St. Katherine in St. Gallen.¹³ The St. Gallen

sisters copied the loaner and returned the manuscript to Nuremberg after they finished making their own in 1488.

Textual Organization and Collaboration with Friars

The arrangement of the Observant Dominican directoria differs from other liturgical books in a significant way: The directoria mix the instructions for office and mass. The ordinarium strictly divides rubrics for office and mass into separate sections, and most liturgical books only contained material for one or the other, not both. Although bundling office and mass for each feast deviates from the traditional organization of liturgical manuscripts, it has the advantage that the whole liturgy for any given feast is found in one place. The directoria thus facilitate coordination of the full daily schedule. The non-Observant directoria discussed at the end of this chapter exhibit a more haphazard organization.

The Observant directoria testify to collaborative exchange between Dominican sisters and friars throughout the fifteenth century, not just at their origin in Schönensteinbach. For an amusing example, one Nuremberg chantress seems to have been particularly concerned about whether they were singing the right hymns for the feast of Thomas Aquinas (March 7). Schürstabin's Sanctorale directorium records that one sings *Exultet mentis iubilo* at vespers, *Thomas insignis* at matins, and *Lauda, mater ecclesia, Thome* at lauds.¹⁴ This is correct, "since one does this in the friars' communities far and wide, and [I] asked many fathers and they all say yes, one also finds this in the old breviaries and also in the new printed breviaries [wann man haltet daz in der veter Conuenten weyt vnd preyt, vnd hab vil veter gefragt die sagen all ia, auch fint man ez in den alten preuiren auch in den newen dructen preuiren]."¹⁵ Most entries mentioning friars do not display the same obsessive recourse to multiple friars, as well as to both manuscript and incunable breviaries, but consultations with friars are recorded in almost all manuscripts.¹⁶ These continued exchanges distinguish the Observant Dominican directoria from the non-Observant directoria, which lack evidence of such collaboration with friars.

Sister Margareta Karteuserin's Legacy: Localizing the Liturgy

For the sake of simplicity, the rest of this chapter draws all examples from the pair of directoria copied by Sister Margareta Karteuserin in 1429. Karteuserin belonged to the reforming party that arrived from Schönensteinbach in December 1428 to reform the convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg to the Observance. According to a convent-internal account of the reform, when the Observants occupied the key administrative positions, Margareta Karteuserin was appointed chantress.¹⁷ She served in this position for more than thirty years and copied numerous books during that time and after.¹⁸ Three manuscripts that she made are recorded in the medieval convent library catalog as being "notel," a vague catch-all term (see [Appendix 5](#)), which I translate for the moment as rubrics.

[G] II. Item, another book, that contains our order's rubrics.

III. Item, a book in a limp binding, that contains the rubrics of the Temporale.

IIII. Item, a book in a limp binding, that contains the rubrics of the Sanctorale.

Item, these three foregoing books of rubrics were written by Margareta Karteuserin.

[G] II. Item aber ein puch; das helt in im unsers orden notel.

III. Item ein puch in eym conpert; das helt in im die notel von der czeyt.

III. Item ein puch in eim conpert; das helt in im die notel von den heiligen.

Item die III vor geschriben notelpücher hat swester Margret Kartheüserin geschriben.¹⁹

The first of these three manuscripts (G. II) regrettably does not survive, but it must have been a copy of the German-language ordinarium translation in use in Schönensteinbach.²⁰ The shelf marks G. III and G. IIII are still found in the surviving manuscripts, making them easily identifiable as Karteuserin's Temporale and Sanctorale directoria. Successive generations of Nuremberg chantresses continually updated Karteuserin's directoria throughout the fifteenth century. These plentiful later annotations make it possible to reconstruct the effects of liturgical change, even when focusing only on this manuscript pair.

Many directorium entries address liturgical problems that we have already encountered in previous chapters, including issues treated in the Nuremberg friar's 1421 *correctura*. Karteuserin's Temporale directorium asserts that during the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, "One does not need to remove one's shoes for the *Agios* [zu dem agyos darf man nit die schuch ab zichen]."²¹ And her Sanctorale volume confirms that for the non-martyred Empress Kunigunde, "one changes the words and sings 'seculum nequam vicisti' instead of 'sanguinem tuum fudisti'; in the fourth responsory, [in] the following verse, one changes the words and sings 'blandimenta' instead of 'tormenta' [verwandelt man die wort vnd singt fur 'sangwinem tuum fudisti' 'seculum nequam vicisti'; Jn dem iiiij Responsorium der vers darnach verwandelt man dz wort vnd singt fur 'tormenta' 'blandimenta']."²² Both of these issues were raised in the 1421 *correctura*, and the solutions in Karteuserin's directoria match the contents of the Zurich ordinarium translation that the Nuremberg sisters copied for themselves.

Yet in the directoria, the general chapter's legislative updates and such local ritual adjustments are overwhelmed by the instructions for reconciling conflicting feasts, such as the opening example involving memoriae on the feast of St. Jerome. Extensive rubrics concern scheduling the Sanctorale feasts around the feasts of the Temporale cycle, as well as the weekly observances of St. Dominic on Tuesdays and the Blessed Virgin on Saturdays. These generic instructions are supplemented by records of scheduling decisions made in specific years, which serve as case precedent should the conflict arise again. These three types of information—local directives, decisions of the general chapter, and scheduling guidelines or records—provide the supplementary information lacking in the Dominican ordinarium.

Finding Aids and Physical Books

In addition to the feasts for locally important saints, Karteuserin's directoria contain several other kinds of instructions for local circumstances, such as the specific volumes owned by the community. Physical descriptions of these books facilitated practical implementation of the directions given, since the Nuremberg community did not use library shelf marks for its liturgical books.²³ For example, Karteuserin's Sanctorale volume includes an annotation that during Advent one should read the matins lessons "as it stands in the large white lectionary [alz an dem grossen weissen leccen puch stet]."²⁴ This note specifies which particular codex should be used in the liturgy by means of a physical description, helping liturgical coordinators to locate the correct texts.

Such specifications probably do not indicate that local practice differed from the Dominican norm, although we cannot know for certain. Many liturgical books from St. Katherine in Nuremberg survive, but it is difficult to associate particular extant volumes with the physical

descriptions contained in the directoria. Of the liturgical books that survive, some are now unavailable to Western scholars in Russian archives, and many of those held by the Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek are damaged and partial. At present, we cannot know whether the lessons used by the Nuremberg sisters conformed to the lessons of the exemplar lectionary, but this is an interesting avenue for future research.²⁵ Whatever the lessons may have been, the directoria record advice based on the chantress's personal experience with the convent's actual owned books to facilitate the work of liturgical coordinators in the future.

Enclosure and Civic Ceremony: Rogation Processions

The directoria also describe ritual variations, within or from the Dominican Rite, that show how women tailored their liturgy to their unique circumstances. These variations adapt Dominican rituals to civic ceremonies and convent architecture. The convent's integration into citywide celebrations is described, for example, for the Major Rogation on the feast of St. Mark (April 25). On this feast, religious communities left their church for a public procession through the city or surrounding area.²⁶ Dominicans did not perform rogations themselves, as friars were not supposed to own property and sisters were supposed to be enclosed. However, Dominican communities were integrated into the urban processions that connected the various churches in a city through civic ceremony.²⁷ The Dominican convent of St. Katherine in Colmar, for example, lay on the route of Colmar's Corpus Christi procession, and the Colmar sisters gathered in their choir to receive a blessing from the celebrant leading the city's procession.²⁸ Even from within enclosure, Dominican sisters could participate aurally in civic rituals.

In Nuremberg, the Observant Dominican sisters were obviously likewise not permitted to leave their enclosure and engage in such a procession themselves. However, *Karteuserin's Sanctorale directorium* records that the Hospitallers, the canons from the church of St. Sebald, and the canons from the church of St. Laurence stopped in the convent's church on their processions, and the Dominican sisters participated by singing out at them from within their enclosure.

On the feast of St. Mark, the crosses come. The Hospitallers are always the first. We do not sing anything for them. Afterwards, the Sebalders come. Toward them, we sing the verse *Pulchrae Sion*, and (they sing) the versicle ~~Ora pro nobis, beata Katherina~~ and they sing the collect outside. Afterwards, those from St. Laurence come. For them, we sing the same as for those from St. Sebald. We do this on rogation days, whenever one processes with the crosses, we sing as it is written above.

Auff sant marx tag so kömend die creutz her. Die spitaler sint alwegen die ersten. Den singen wir nichtz. Darnach komen die sebolter. Gen den singen wir den vers *pulchre syon*, vnd dz vers ~~ora pro nobis beata katherina~~ so singen sie darussen (vnd) die collect. Darnach komen die von sant lorentzen. Den sing wir gleich alz den von sant sebolt. Alz so tu wir in den kreutztagen, vnd alweg so man mit den kreutzen her get, so sing wir alz vor geschriben ist.²⁹

Such annotations with regional feasts and local rituals regulated the permissible ways in which the community's Dominican liturgy integrated the devotional foci of the sisters and ritual practices of the city in which it was located. Even in enclosed convents, the sisters needed to negotiate their place in the city's ritual to coordinate their unique liturgical role in civic

ceremony, which might change over time. The strikethrough suggests that originally the sisters sang the versicle *Ora pro nobis*, but, at some point, the canons from St. Sebald took this on. For such occasions, the directoria reveal how Observant Dominican sisters negotiated the demands of strict enclosure with the continuing expectations of civic engagement, developing ritual variations that integrated the order's liturgy with local needs.

Patron Saints and Local Piety: Washing the Altars

One centrally mandated ritual of the Dominican liturgy varied from house to house within the Dominican order to conform not to regional piety but rather to each church's architectural layout. On Maundy Thursday (the Thursday before Easter), Dominican communities performed a processional liturgy in which each altar of the church was ritually washed with water and wine. In this afternoon ritual, the community reused the responsories from matins as processional music while they walked from altar to altar. At each altar, they sang an antiphon for the saint in whose honor it was consecrated.³⁰ Because each church had a different number of altars dedicated to a different set of saints, not even the Observant reform could standardize the liturgy for this ritual. Therefore, the centrally propagated ordinarius's instructions for this ceremony are generic, providing different options for adapting to local circumstance and architecture.³¹

Karteuserin's Temporale directorium supplemented the ordinarius's generic instructions with specific, local information that transformed the open framework into a concrete ritual appropriate to her community. She listed the saints to whom each altar was consecrated in the convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg with the antiphons one should sing for each. These directives open as follows:

The first altar is consecrated in honor of the dear virgin Saint Katherine. There one sings thus: the responsory *In monte Oliveti* with the verse and repetenda. Immediately thereupon, the antiphon *Ave virgo Katherina caeli decor*, that is the antiphon that one sings at matins. Afterwards, the two who hold the candles before the altar say the versicle *Ora pro nobis, beata Katherina*, and the priest reads the collect *Deus qui dedisti legem Moysi*.

Der erst altar ist geweiht in der ere der lieben jvnkfrauen sant katherina. Zu dem singt man alsvs: den respons *jn monte oliveti* mit dem vers vnd wider nemen. Dar auf gleich die antifen *ave virgo katherina celi decor*, ez ist die antifen, die man ze metten singt. Dar nach die zwo, die die kertzen vor dem altar habend, sprechend daz verslin *ora pro nobis beata katherina* vnd der priester list die oracio *deus qui dedisti legem moysi*.³²

The responsory *In monte Oliveti* was the first responsory for Maundy Thursday matins and accordingly was sung as the processional chant for the first altar uniformly in all Dominican communities. After that, the divergence began with a series of texts (antiphon, versicle, and collect) specifically chosen for the altar's patron, Katherine of Alexandria. After this passage, Karteuserin continued with the instructions for each of the other altars in the church, providing the local detail necessary for transforming the ordinarius's generic instructions into an actualized local ritual, honoring the altar patrons of the Nuremberg convent.

Unfortunately, this directorium does not provide any information about how the Observant sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg adapted the ritual to strict enclosure. Except for the altar dedicated to St. Dominic in the sisters' choir, all of the convent's altars were located in the main

church outside the women's enclosure. Just as we saw with the *Salve regina* procession, it was therefore not possible for strictly enclosed sisters to perform this ritual as the friars did. The surviving sacristan's manual (discussed in [Chapter 6](#)) reveals that the sisters remained in the enclosed choir, singing along from a distance while their confessor washed the altars in the church below.³³ The Observant sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg thus compromised on their order's liturgy in order to maintain the reform movement's strict enclosure.

As disappointing as it may be to imagine these women shut off from their community's own heavenly patrons, the ritual instructions showcase the liturgical expertise of Observant Dominican women. There were no centralized guidelines for adapting the altar-washing ceremony to women's enclosure. As with the *Salve regina* procession, the ordinarium acknowledged that a community might remain in the choir instead of processing if the church's architectural space was inadequate.³⁴ This only solved the problem of active enclosure. Convents had an altar in the sisters' enclosed choir, so the issue of passive enclosure and the prohibition against women touching the altar remained. The Observant friars addressed this issue explicitly with their sisters, who apparently did not want to let a friar into their enclosure in order to wash their altar during the Maundy Thursday ceremony.³⁵ (See discussion of this manuscript in [Appendix 5](#).) The convent's liturgical coordinators negotiated this ritual adaptation with their community's confessor.

Karteuserin's directorium also reveals how the consecration of new altars, the acquisition of new relics, or the shifts in pious trends could cause a community to change its altar-washing ceremony. The description of the ritual in Karteuserin's Temporale directorium was altered multiple times in order to incorporate a new altar dedicated to Catherine of Siena ([Figure 7](#)). Only three years after Catherine of Siena's 1461 canonization, the Nuremberg convent church acquired a new altar dedicated to this Dominican saint.³⁶ The community decided to honor this second Catherine by making her altar the third stop in the altar-washing ceremony, following only the convent patron (Katherine of Alexandria) and the Virgin Mary. John the Evangelist's name was crossed out and *katherina de senis* added at the bottom margin; the corresponding chants and prayers were altered, as well. However, this new route did not work for some reason and the sisters changed it again. Catherine of Siena and her chants were crossed out and John the Evangelist written back in as the third stop. Catherine's altar became the fourth station, displacing the apostles and requiring adjustments for every entry in the rest of the rubric. This adjustment was not the final phase of this convent's altar-washing route, as shown by later entries. The page eventually became so messy that one sister sought to provide clarity with a simple list on a small scrap of paper (f. 60a), which is tipped in just before Karteuserin's instructions.³⁷

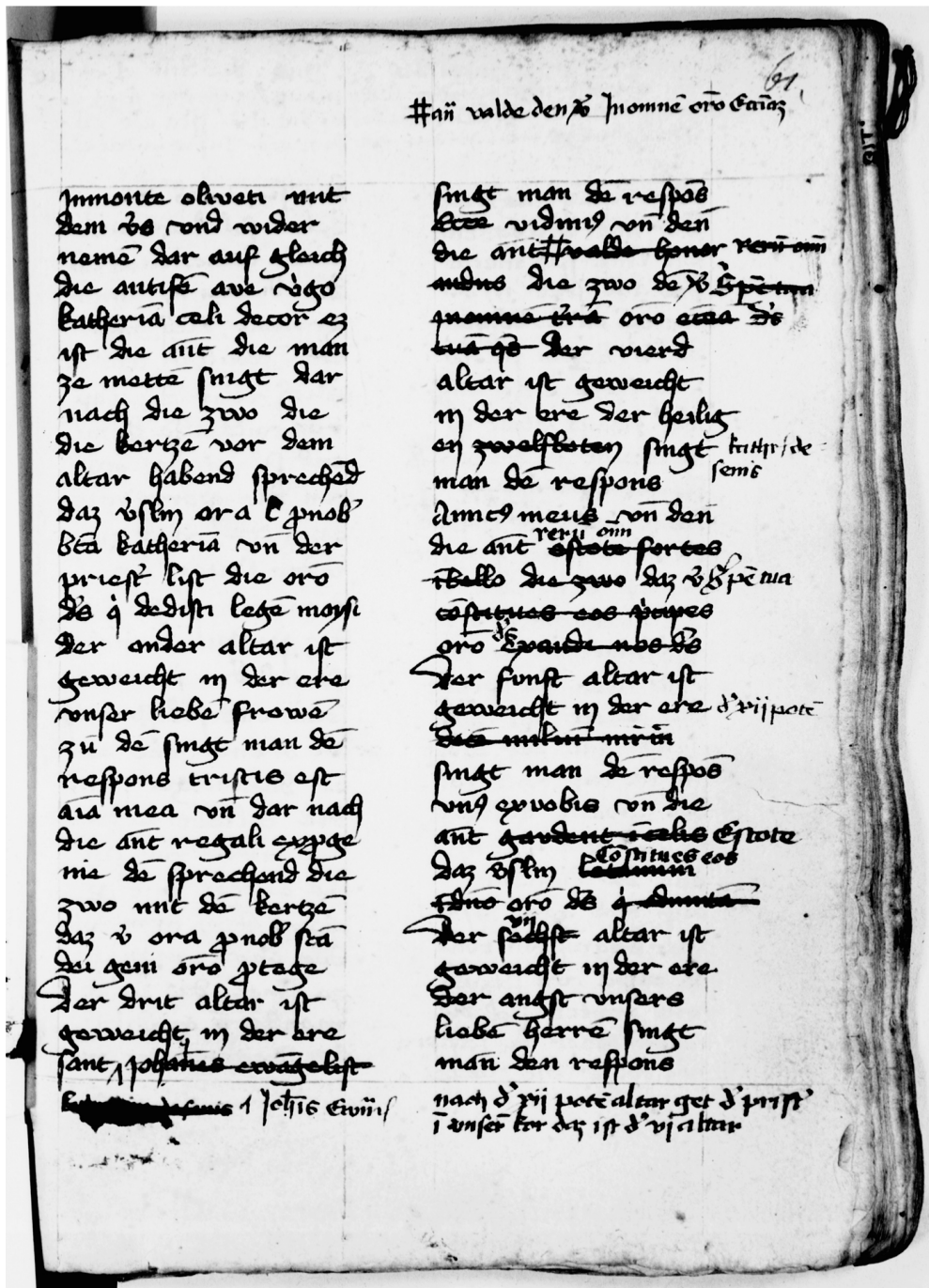


Figure 7. The beginning of the altar-washing ceremony on Maundy Thursday in Margareta Karteuserin's *Temporale* directorium. The changes to the order of the altars are visible in the bottom and right margins. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 61r.

These marginal annotations betray ritual evolution in response to changes in piety—in this case, the canonization of a new saint. The sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg were able to express their devotion to Catherine of Siena through the remarkably swift acquisition of a new altar consecrated in her honor. The multiple changes in the route perhaps reveal issues of practicality or maybe negotiation with their confessors, who (unlike the women) were actually

walking this route in the church below. Whatever the confessor's role in choreographing might have been, the route and accordingly this particular set of chants were unique to St. Katherine in Nuremberg, as no one else shared precisely this church's altar dedications. Every friary and convent in the Dominican order choreographed this route differently because each set of saints was different, and processional manuscripts from both men's and women's communities display an astounding variety in this ritual.

The Observant directoria primarily sought to reestablish liturgical uniformity across all communities of the reform movement, but some rituals even Observant reformers simply could not standardize. The altar-washing ceremony was affected for everyone by legitimate variance in local saints and for sisters by the order's failure to provide an ordinarium tailored to women's enclosure. Such passages in the directoria were adjusted not only as the ritual practices of the community changed but also when the directoria were copied for a new community in the course of a reform.³⁸ These locally adjusted entries may have helped the reform chantress, who had been trained in a different community with different local accents, to integrate the standardization of liturgical reform with the permissible variations of her new home. They also reveal moments in the Dominican liturgy where friars and sisters adjusted to local variables and interfaced with the surrounding lay community.

Calendrical Conundrums: Fixing New Feasts in the Liturgical Cycles

The new altar for Catherine of Siena raises a further issue handled extensively in the directoria: the decisions of the general chapter. As I noted in [Chapter 3](#), the three general chapters immediately following the end of the Western Schism introduced a large number of liturgical amendments. This legislation was confirmed in 1423, shortly before St. Katherine in Nuremberg was reformed in 1428–29. Karteuserin's directoria contain instructions for most of these confirmations, which must already have been implemented in Schönensteinbach.³⁹ The Dominican general chapter did not stop passing liturgical legislation, and the Dominican sisters did not stop recording it in their directoria. Later annotations in Karteuserin's manuscripts add information about new saints' feasts and changes in the rules for scheduling, which grew increasingly complex throughout the fifteenth century. The Observant directoria reveal difficulties created by changing legislation that affected friars and sisters alike.

Scheduling Around Corpus Christi

The yearly reconciliation of the Temporale cycle of moveable Christmas and Easter feasts with the Sanctorale cycle of fixed-date saints' feasts had always been complex. In the Observant Dominican directoria, sisters added further scheduling guidelines that covered an extraordinary variety of circumstances inadequately treated in the ordinarium: what to do if a sister died before the community had sung that week's obligatory Office of the Dead,⁴⁰ how to distribute the scriptural readings at matins throughout autumn Ordinary Time,⁴¹ and how to handle a wide variety of Sanctorale feasts that fall on or during the octave of Temporale feasts. These last rubrics became increasingly problematic as new feasts were introduced and the scheduling rules were changed.

When Corpus Christi was introduced in the early fourteenth century, this new feast and its octave extended the observances attached to Easter by an additional eleven days, multiplying the number of possible conflicts between the Temporale cycle and Sanctorale feasts. The directoria

supplement the general guidelines of the ordinarium with specific scheduling instructions. Karteuserin's Temporale directorium explains how to handle saints' feasts during the octave of Corpus Christi, including not only the Translation of Dominic (May 24) but also Barnabas (June 11), Gervasius and Prothasius (June 19), the Ten Thousand Martyrs (June 22), John the Baptist (June 24), John and Paul (June 26), and Peter and Paul (June 29).⁴² Many of these entries resulted from practical experience in a year when the conflict actually occurred. The expert opinion of the chantress who managed the calendrical conflict was fixed in writing to provide case precedent for future liturgical administrators.

Such entries with detailed instructions for reconciling specific Temporale feasts with specific Sanctorale feasts proliferate because they remedy deficiencies in the standard ordinarium. When the Dominican Rite was codified and propagated in 1256–59, neither Corpus Christi nor the feast of the Ten Thousand Martyrs existed. Naturally, the standard ordinarium did not account for the possibility of this particular Temporale/Sanctorale scheduling conflict. The Dominican general chapter did not keep up with all the new possible conflicts produced by the new feasts, and so communities devised their own solutions and recorded in their directoria the guidelines that the ordinarium lacked.

Scheduling New Dominican Saints

In the middle of the fifteenth century, the Dominican general chapter passed several high-profile liturgical changes, including, above all, new feasts for the order's new saints: Vincent Ferrer (canonized in 1455) and Catherine of Siena (canonized in 1461).⁴³ Scheduling rubrics for these new feasts were added to Karteuserin's Sanctorale directorium rather than to the community's ordinarium manuscripts. The directorium entries supplement the inadequate rules provided by the general chapter. The annotations for Vincent Ferrer (April 5) largely furnish guidelines for when his feast falls during Paschal Time.⁴⁴ As an important saint of the order, Vincent Ferrer was celebrated at the rank of totum duplex with the maximum number of matins nocturns, usually three. However, in years when Easter was early and Ferrer's feast fell within Paschal Time, the maximum number of nocturns was reduced from three to only one. The convent's ordinaria fail to treat this eventuality. Vincent Ferrer's feast does not appear at all in the two German-language ordinaria surviving from St. Katherine in Nuremberg. Their Latin ordinarium provides a complete entry for his feast outside of Paschal Time but no instructions for abbreviating it should it fall after Easter.⁴⁵ The Nuremberg chantresses added the supplementary rubrics not in the margins of the ordinarium but rather in their Sanctorale directorium.

The sisters' later annotations concerning Catherine of Siena's feast also primarily treat scheduling and coordination. The papal bull approving Catherine of Siena's canonization mandated that her feast be scheduled in a wholly innovative way. Rather than being on a fixed date like most Sanctorale feasts and rather than being attached to Easter like most Temporale feasts, Catherine of Siena's feast was always the first Sunday in May. This radical innovation in the liturgical calendar caused complex scheduling problems every year, which the sisters addressed by entering policy in the directoria.⁴⁶ For example, if the Translation of Peter Martyr (May 7) happens to fall on the first Sunday in May, "one must place St. Catherine of Siena on that Sunday, and on the following Monday the Apparition of Michael, and on Tuesday St. Peter [so mus man sant katherina von senis auff den selben suntag legen vnd am montag darnach apparicionis michahelis vnd am Eritag sant petter]."⁴⁷ Later hands record diary-like entries for years in which Catherine's feast caused special problems, such as in 1473 when the convent's

church dedication anniversary fell on the first Sunday in May or in 1487 when the Octave of the church dedication anniversary coincided with the feast of John Before the Latin Gate, which also happened to be the first Sunday in May!⁴⁸ These diary-style entries, to which we will return, both descriptively recorded a decision that the expert chantresses had made and prescriptively advised future sisters when the problem arose again.

The directoria thus go far beyond merely recording the Dominican general chapter's legislation. The annotations also supplemented the general chapter's decisions with additional administrative guidance on scheduling and coordination, which Dominicans needed when planning communal liturgy but which the general chapter had not foreseen. To the sisters at the time, the directoria facilitated independent decision-making within the legislative framework of the Dominican liturgy; to scholars today, they reveal the gaps in the general chapter's legislation that expert Dominican cantors and chantresses needed to fill.

Sundays, Saturdays, and Tuesdays

The impulse to provide thorough guidelines for resolving scheduling conflicts overwhelms the Observant directoria with an obsessive systematicity. This drive was not unique to the Observants nor even to the Dominican order. As Alison Altstatt shows with regard to the similar scheduling guidelines that Anna of Buchwald drew up for the northern German Benedictine convent of Preetz, liturgical scheduling became increasingly complex in the later Middle Ages as new feasts were introduced and old feasts were upgraded.⁴⁹ The coherent weekly cycle of the 1256 Dominican liturgy had been progressively undermined by the general chapter's legislation, multiplying the possible scheduling conflicts. Illustrating how these complexities grew, the Observant Dominican directoria frequently explain what to do when a feast falls on a Sunday (the *Temporale* cycle), a Saturday (commemoration of the Virgin Mary), or a Tuesday (commemoration of St. Dominic).

From its origin, the Dominican Rite shared the *Temporale* cycle of Sunday liturgies with the practices of the broader church. Throughout the year, the special liturgical material for Sundays constituted the *Temporale*'s narrative arc tracing Christ's life. Even the less significant Sundays during Ordinary Time had matins lessons that were considered important to cover. Namely, the last three lessons of each Sunday's matins (the third nocturn) always comprised a gospel reading and excerpts from a homily.⁵⁰ If an important *Sanctorale* feast fell on a Sunday, it would displace the Sunday's proper matins lessons, and the homily would have to be read at some other point during the week. The Dominican Rite shared this issue of Sunday coordination with all other liturgies of western Christendom.

The observances for Saturdays and Tuesdays were additions that evolved during the later Middle Ages as the Dominican general chapter passed a series of decisions expanding the practices and elevating their importance. Commemorating the Blessed Virgin Mary on Saturdays was a common practice in which an office and a mass for the Virgin replaced or displaced the normal liturgical material for Saturday.⁵¹ In the Dominican liturgy, the Saturday Commemorative Office of the Blessed Virgin was initially limited to Ordinary Time. However, in 1354, the general chapter radically expanded the times of year during which the commemorative office was observed, such that only the period from Ash Wednesday through the octave of Easter did *not* have Saturdays devoted to the Blessed Virgin.⁵² In 1256, there were twenty-five weeks in the year when Saturdays were *not* for Commemoration of the Virgin (roughly half the year); after 1354, there were only eight weeks left when the Saturday office was *not* for Mary.

Similarly, when the order's rite was codified in 1256, the Dominicans did not practice the Tuesday observances for Dominic at all. The general chapter confirmed the practice in 1364, assigning it the same time range as the Saturdays for the Blessed Virgin, excluding only the eight weeks from Lent through Easter Week.⁵³ The Tuesday observance for Dominic was assigned the rank of three lessons; simplex and higher-rank feasts downgraded Dominic's weekly observance to a memoria, but if other three-lesson feasts fell on a Tuesday, they were downgraded instead. This situation in which Sundays, Saturdays, and Tuesdays were all already occupied during most weeks of the year produced a significant coordination issue that had not existed to this extent when the Dominican order disseminated the standard ordinarium in 1256.

The directoria supply guidelines for handling Sanctorale feasts when they fall on a Sunday, Saturday, or Tuesday, with numerous additions as the sisters attempted to keep pace with the general chapter's evolving legislation. Originally, when a three-lesson feast fell on a Tuesday, Saturday, or Sunday, the three-lesson feast was downgraded to a memoria tacked on to vespers and lauds. During the 1420s and 1430s, the general chapter debated whether three-lesson feasts on Tuesdays, Saturdays, and Sundays should instead be skipped entirely or perhaps rescheduled.⁵⁴ As Karteuserin's Sanctorale directorium records, these controversies were finally resolved in 1462, when the Dominican general chapter confirmed that, rather than downgraded to memoriae, three-lesson feasts should be rescheduled: "Item, when a saint's feast of three lessons falls on Tuesday, Saturday, or Sunday, one observes it on a free day within the following week. Beyond the week, one does not observe it. This is confirmed in three chapters. [Item, wenn ein heilig gefelt auf den Eritag vnd samstag vnd suntag mit iij lecen, die beget man in jren acht tagen auf einen leren tag. Vber die acht tag begat man ir nit mer. Daz ist bestetigt in iij capiteln.]"⁵⁵ The Observant sisters maintaining directoria assiduously recorded and heeded the latest standards of official practice, conforming to the order's devotional emphases as expressed through its legislation.

This legislation may reflect a growing piety among Dominicans toward saints traditionally classed as less important. It also provides a concrete example of the scheduling issues caused by liturgical change. Three decades later, the general chapter at Le Mans in 1491 upgraded all existing memoria feasts to three lessons.⁵⁶ This blanket change in rank caused a massive change in scheduling practice: Memoriae only had short suffrages appended to vespers and lauds, whereas three-lesson feasts suppressed or displaced the ferial liturgy. Communities were suddenly contending with thirty-one feasts that previously did not need to be scheduled around anything else. Upgrading the memoriae to three-lesson feasts—after legislating that three-lesson feasts could not be downgraded to memoriae—created manifold new possible scheduling conflicts. Reconciling the shifting calendar of Temporale feasts with the fixed feasts of the Sanctorale had always been complex, but the continuous liturgical legislation of the Dominican general chapter made the difficulty exponentially worse.

When Local Piety, Temporale Cycles, and the Order's Legislation Collide: Barbara and Candlemas

Two passages exemplarily illustrate the principles for coordinating the Sunday, Saturday, and Tuesday observances with the fixed-date Sanctorale feasts. First, the generic instructions for the feast of Saint Barbara (December 4) negotiated differences between the order's mandated practice and the community's local piety in ways that highlight the effects of devotional change on liturgical coordination. Second, the description of decisions made in the year 1466, when the

Marian feast of the Purification or Candlemas (February 2) coincided with Septuagesima Sunday, illustrates the creative flexibility Dominicans could use to ensure that they covered the required Sunday material.

In Kartuserin's directorium, the general guidelines for coordinating Barbara's feast reconciled the Nuremberg community's particular devotion to Barbara with the general chapter's legislation. Barbara had not been a particularly important saint during the early Middle Ages, but devotion to her grew in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as she became included among the Fourteen Holy Helpers. Barbara's specialty was protecting devotees from sudden death without final unction. Following trends in popular devotion, the Dominican general chapter formally added Barbara's feast at the rank of three lessons as part of the reunification legislation after the end of the Western Schism (1419–23).⁵⁷

The Dominican sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg held Barbara in special favor, so they obtained license from the provincial prior Peter Wellen (r. 1446–55 and 1457–69) to celebrate Barbara at the rank of simplex—that is, with a more elaborate liturgy than technically was permitted in the Dominican order.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, as the directorium explains, the sisters still were required to follow the order's rules for scheduling her feast: "Item, when Saint Barbara's feast falls on a Tuesday, one celebrates our holy father Saint Dominic [on that day] and Saint Barbara on the following Wednesday. If Saint Barbara falls on a Saturday, she is celebrated on some free day because she does not have nine lessons [i.e., simplex rank] according to the order. [Item, wenn sant barbra tag gefelt an einem Eritag, so beget man vnsern heiligen vater sant dominicus vnd sant barbra an dem mittwoch darnach. Gefelt sant barbra an einem samstag, so beget auf einen ledigen tag, dar vmb dz nit von orden ix lecen hat.]"⁵⁹ The rank of a feast governed not only the elaborateness of the liturgical performance but also the rules of precedence should it conflict with another observance. Normally a simplex feast suppressed the Tuesday office for Dominic. However, when Wellen granted the Nuremberg sisters permission to celebrate Barbara with a simplex liturgy, this evidently did not include permission to elevate the feast's importance with regard to scheduling. The sisters were obligated to continue scheduling Barbara around the Tuesday and Saturday observances, just like any other three-lesson feast.

This potential conflict was a wholly new eventuality. When the ordinarium was propagated in 1256–59, neither Barbara's feast nor the Tuesday observances for Dominic existed. These peculiar instructions for the feast of St. Barbara do more than just illustrate the methods for scheduling saints' feasts around the weekly Sunday, Saturday, and Tuesday observances. They also showcase the effects of late medieval devotional change on Dominican liturgy, they highlight the order's legislative mechanism for keeping pace with trends in piety, they reveal the official channels open to women for acknowledging their special devotions, and they uncover the complexities that arose when Dominicans sought to reconcile their local practices with the centralized rules of the order at large.

The second example does not derive from religious or legislative change; rather, it involves a long-standing Marian feast (Candlemas, February 2) in conflict with an important Sunday (Septuagesima, the beginning of the Easter cycle). An entry dated 1466 provides a concrete and detailed outline demonstrating how one might cover the required Sunday material in the extraordinary circumstance that a Sanctorale feast displaced a Sunday. As discussed in [Chapter 1](#), Sundays as the archetypal feast day had a full-length matins with three nocturns, each of which had three lessons and three responsories (for a total of nine). The three lessons in the final

nocturn of Sunday matins were drawn from a homily on that Sunday's gospel reading and were therefore considered essential. Rescheduling displaced matins material, however, was complicated by the fact that, whereas Sundays had three nocturns, ferial days (weekdays) only had one nocturn, such that *one* displaced Sunday required *three* ferial days to make up for it.

Candlemas was an extremely important feast for the Virgin Mary and therefore took precedence even over Septuagesima, the first Sunday in the penitential period leading up to Easter.⁶⁰ However, the first lessons in any new biblical book needed to be read, and Septuagesima Sunday was the day when Genesis began. The observance of Candlemas on Sunday displaced the liturgy for Septuagesima, but both the Septuagesima mass and the office material for matins still needed to be covered that year. The directorium's diary entry illustrates how to distribute the Sunday responsories and homily lessons around other obligations.

Item, in 1466, Candlemas (February 2) fell on Septuagesima Sunday. On the following Tuesday, we observed the nocturn and the first set of lessons and the second set of responsories from the Septuagesima *historia*. Afterwards, on Thursday, the first set of responsories and the [ferial] lessons for Thursday. On Friday, the third set of responsories and the gospel [and homily lessons] from Sunday and mass from Sunday. On Saturday, for Our Dear Lady.

Jtem, in dem lxxvj jar do gefiel der liechtmesß tag an dem suntag septuagesima. Do hielt man auf den Eritag dar nach nocturn vnd die ersten leccen vnd die andern Responsorien von der ystori septuagesima, vnd dar nach an dem pfincztag die ersten Responsorien vnd die leccen feria quinta, vnd an dem freytag die dritten Responsorien vnd daz Ewangelium von dem suntag vnd mess vom suntag, vnd an dem samstag von vnser lieben frauen.⁶¹

Rather than splitting the three nocturns from Septuagesima Sunday and just doing them in order over the following three days, the directorium records a curious mix-and-match solution on seemingly random days of the week. Yet what appears haphazard is, in fact, a textbook case for integrating the idealized Temporale weekly cycle with the Sanctorale calendar in order to cover Sunday material.

[Table 10](#) represents the different layers of liturgical material that needed to be coordinated. Line 1 shows the responsories sung during the matins nocturns on Sunday, which were (ideally) repeated in two cycles over the other six days of the week. Unlike the sung responsories, which were only provided for Sunday and had to be repeated, the lessons read during the matins nocturns were different for every single day, as shown on line 2. The Dominican lectionary even provides unique matins lessons for the Saturday after Septuagesima Sunday because at the time the lectionary was originally propagated, the Saturday commemorations of the Blessed Virgin were still limited to Ordinary Time and were thus not performed after Septuagesima. This observance and the Tuesday commemoration of Dominic (also a fourteenth-century addition) are represented on line 3. Finally, line 4 contains the Sanctorale cycle of fixed saints' feasts with the ranks they were accorded in 1466 when the conflict occurred; I list Blasius as three lessons or simplex because, in 1466, the Dominican general chapter was only two ratifications deep in the process of elevating his feast, and the directorium provides no indication whether St. Katherine in Nuremberg was following the old or the new regulations.⁶²

Table 10. The scheduling resolution for the week when Candlemas (the Feast of the Purification) fell on Septuagesima Sunday in

1466, as observed at St. Katherine in Nuremberg.

	<i>Sunday</i>	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
1 Weekly rotation of Matins responsories	3 Nocturns each with 3 Responsories	Responsories of Nocturn 1	Responsories of Nocturn 2	Responsories of Nocturn 3	Responsories of Nocturn 1	Responsories of Nocturn 2	Responsories of Nocturn 3
2 Matins lessons	3 Nocturns, third set is gospel and homily	Monday Lessons	Tuesday Lessons	Wednesday Lessons	Thursday Lessons	Friday Lessons	Saturday Lessons
3 Temporale and weekly observances	Septuagesima		Dominic				Virgin Mary
February Date	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4 Sanctorale	Candlemas (totum duplex)	Blasius (3 lessons or simplex)	Anniversary of fathers and mothers	Agatha (simplex)	Vedastus and Amandus (memoria)		
5 Resolution in the year 1466	Candlemas	Blasius	Vigils of the Dead, Lessons of Nocturn 1, Responsories of Nocturn 2	Agatha	Thursday lessons, Responsories of Nocturn 1	Homily (i.e., lessons of Nocturn 3), Responsories of Nocturn 3	Virgin Mary

Layering the liturgical cycles visually in this way makes it quite clear how the chantress of St. Katherine in Nuremberg coordinated the community's obligations during this week in 1466 (line 5). All of the Sanctorale feasts were celebrated on their proper days. Vedastus and Amandus only had a memoria and therefore did not displace anything else. Similarly, the Office of the Dead commemorating deceased fathers and mothers on February 4 was always observed in addition to the usual prayer cycle of the office and did not displace other feasts. The Saturday commemoration of the Blessed Virgin was preserved, but the Tuesday observance for Dominic was suppressed in order to have the requisite three days for the displaced material from Septuagesima Sunday.

Regarding this Sunday material, it was considered important to read the first lessons that opened a new season and, accordingly, on Tuesday, the community read the lessons from the first nocturn on Septuagesima Sunday. However, instead of singing the corresponding responsories from the first nocturn, they sang the responsories from the second nocturn because these are the ones they would have been singing if nothing else intervened (see line 1 in [table 10](#)). Similarly, for that Thursday, the combination of Thursday lessons and first-nocturn Sunday responsories might seem odd, but this mix is precisely what the standard rotation called for (lines 1 and 2). Finally, to cover the Sunday homily and finish the rotation of responsories, the third nocturn from Septuagesima Sunday was celebrated, both lessons and responsories, on the only remaining day, Friday. They also celebrated mass for Septuagesima on this Friday, preserving the coordination of the gospel reading in the matins lessons with the same gospel reading also read at mass. In this manner, the community of St. Katherine in Nuremberg fulfilled their liturgical obligations in the first week of February 1466 by celebrating all the saints' feasts, commemorating their dead with a vigil, observing the Blessed Virgin on Saturday, and covering all three nocturns' worth of Sunday responsories as well as the important first and third sets of lessons, while preserving the standard weekly round when it was possible.

Coincidence of important Temporale and Sanctorale feasts had always been possible, since the shifting calendar of the feasts attached to Easter needed to be reconciled with the fixed-date Sanctorale feasts in a practice of liturgical scheduling that had developed long before the Dominican order had come into existence. Nevertheless, by the fifteenth century, several factors had rendered the yearly task of calendrical coordination far more complicated than it had been when Humbert of Romans codified and propagated the Dominican Rite in 1256–59. The German-language directoria that Observant Dominican sisters developed and disseminated provided guidelines for reconciling issues that were not sufficiently handled in the standard *ordinarium* or its German translations. The chantresses who used these manuscripts also continually updated them with new privileges, new feasts, and new legislation from the Dominican general chapter, such as the new rules for rescheduling three-lesson feasts when they fell on Tuesday. The scheduling guidelines culminate in diary-like records, detailing decisions that had been made in a particular year. These directoria are an extraordinary source of information on the complexity and flexibility of the Dominican liturgy in the fifteenth century and the creativity required to coordinate it. Observant Dominican sisters worked to fix the Dominican liturgy by codifying their practices in a document that could be used to reform other convents and by addressing rituals and situations insufficiently covered in the standard *ordinarium*.

Preserving Cherished Rituals: The Non-Observant Directoria

Two directoria survive from non-Observant German Dominican convents. These texts served the same function as the Observant directoria: facilitating liturgical coordination and fixing liturgical practice. Whereas the Observant directoria were transmitted through the reform in order to disseminate and unify liturgical practices, the non-Observant directoria were produced independently in order to preserve their community’s local liturgical traditions. One manuscript was produced in 1504 for the convent of Engelthal near Nuremberg at the behest of Prioress Margareta of Kürnberg.⁶³ A second manuscript was produced in and for the convent of St. Katherine in Augsburg over the course of one liturgical year beginning in 1515 on the Eve of St. Augustine (August 27, the day before his feast). Because these two non-Observant Dominican directoria differ both from the Observant type and from each other, I discuss them here and do not include them in [Appendix 5](#).

Both non-Observant directoria deviate from the traditional organization of liturgical manuscripts. Like their Observant counterparts, they mix office and mass. However, they do not divide the Temporale and Sanctorale into separate sections; rather, they intersperse notes about the Temporale feasts among the Sanctorale feasts in a rough approximation of where they might fall in relation to each other in certain years. Furthermore, neither directorium begins with Advent or Andrew (November 30). Instead, the Augsburg directorium begins with St. Augustine (August 28), and the Engelthal directorium “on the Eve of the year [am dem Jars abent],” that is, at the beginning of the calendar year (December 31).⁶⁴

This mixed organization is fairly unusual but not wholly unique. Alison Altstatt’s description of the relative disorder of Anna of Buchwald’s *Buch im Chor* (*The Book in the Choir*) from the northern German Benedictine convent of Preetz is strikingly similar to these Dominican manuscripts. Altstatt writes, “The *Buch im Chor* contains neither chapter headings, nor the typical divisions between Temporale, Sanctorale, and Common of Saints that characterize other

ordinals: rather, its text proceeds in stream-of-consciousness style through a mixed discussion of Temporale and Sanctorale that generally follows the calendar liturgical year, with many digressions, and temporal leaps.”⁶⁵ The directoria from St. Katherine in Augsburg and from Engelthal share with the *Buch im Chor* from Kloster Preetz the mixed organization of Temporale, Sanctorale, and weekly observances, as well as the periodic digressions and a general impression of “stream-of-consciousness style.” Anna of Buchwald’s *Buch im Chor* does begin where late medieval liturgical books usually do, with Advent and the winter saints’ feasts, and neither of the non-Observant Dominican directoria is nearly as comprehensive. Nevertheless, the similarities suggest that these manuals were all produced in response to similar pressures and to serve a similar purpose.

As Altstatt argues, the Preetz *Buch im Chor* both facilitated a demanding cycle of votive observances and protected her community’s unique liturgy against the advances of the Bursfelde reform in northern Germany.⁶⁶ Liturgical codification often occurred at moments of political or cultural stress, and the genre of *liber ordinarius* may have arisen in the first place to manage institutional change.⁶⁷ The non-Observant directoria likewise retain a purely local focus that resists the liturgical uniformity propagated by the Observant directoria. The threat to local tradition was real. For example, the Weiler Sanctorale directorium records that the community had been celebrating the Translation of Mary Magdalene (the convent’s patron saint) with a unique office liturgy. After the reform, “one should sing the office that is from the order, everything in a row, and leave aside the office that is not from the order [so sol man ir ystory singen, die von orden ist, alle ding nach ain ander, vnd lait man die ystory vnder wegen, die nit von orden ist].”⁶⁸ This change exemplifies precisely the kind of Observant incursion that the communities of Engelthal and St. Katherine in Augsburg feared. Their directoria codify their in-house liturgies in order to protect their liturgical traditions.

Coordinating Local Practice: St. Katherine in Augsburg

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. germ. oct. 678; St. Katherine in Augsburg (1515–16); scribe unknown; description in Handschriftenarchiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: München, Antiquariat J. Halle, described by Rudolf Pfeiffer (1913), handschriftenarchiv.bbaw.de/id/70040748 (accessed 5 August 2023).

The directorium from St. Katherine in Augsburg does not contain an ownership mark, but its provenance can be established through internal evidence. The location in Augsburg may be deduced not only from the strong regional dialect but also from the rich constellation of local saints, which includes, most significantly, the Augsburg saints Ulrich (July 4), Afra (August 7), and Hilaria (August 12).⁶⁹ The entry for Katherine of Alexandria calls the saint “our Katherine [vnser katterina]” and “our patron [vnser patron].”⁷⁰ Her feast is assigned the rank of totum duplex, and the directorium lists no fewer than three different sequences to be sung at masses on different occasions throughout the octave of her feast: *Christi sponsa* (Analecta Hymnica 55, Nr. 208) and two contrafacta that cannot be securely identified from the incipits given, *Laetabundus* and *Eia*.⁷¹ The variety of sequences signals Katherine’s extremely high standing in this convent. Finally, Dominic not only has totum duplex rank but also observances throughout the octave, although the Octave itself is suppressed by the local Augsburg saint, Hilaria.⁷² These factors permit secure attribution to the Dominican convent of St. Katherine in Augsburg.

The date and context of the manuscript's compilation are recorded in vague terms on the first folio: "In the year 1515, on the Eve of St. Augustine, we began to sing according to the order. Here may be known how to observe all feasts and octaves. [Anno domini MCCCCC vnd xv jar an sant augustinus aubent hatt man angefangen nach dem orden zů singen. Hie ist zů wissen wie man alle fest vnd auctoff haben soll.]" Accordingly, the text presents one full year (1515–16) beginning with the Eve of St. Augustine (the day before his feast), interspersing the feasts of the Temporale with the feasts of the Sanctorale. Additional notes in later hands at the back of the volume testify that the manuscript continued to be used and annotated after its production. However, the peculiar start date suggests that this document—like the *Observant directoria*—was originally more of a chantress's diary or personal notes than a volume intended to serve her successors in her office.

It is not certain what "sing[ing] according to the order" entailed, nor what inspired this change in liturgical practice. No surviving records suggest that St. Katherine in Augsburg was threatened by reform in 1515. The Observants left the convent alone after the 1440s, although the sisters continued to resist strict enclosure for decades after their walls were built up in 1441.⁷³ Similarly, the Protestant Reformation did not threaten the Augsburg convent until the 1520s, at which time Prioress Veronika Welser (r. 1504–30) successfully defended her community by exchanging letters with Pope Clement VII (r. 1523–34). The convent survived until 1807, when it was dissolved following the secularization.⁷⁴

However, the year recorded in the directorium (1515–16) does fall squarely in a period of renewal at St. Katherine in Augsburg. A visitation undertaken in 1496 revealed that the convent buildings had fallen into disrepair, and the sisters received both the permission and the financial support to renovate.⁷⁵ The cloister—including dormitory, refectory, and chapterhouse—was rebuilt between 1499 and 1503. Following completion of the chapterhouse, Sisters Veronika Welser, Barbara and Anna Riedler, Helena Rebhuhn, and Dorothea Rehlinger commissioned paintings of prominent churches in Rome to enliven their "virtual" pilgrimages in the new space.⁷⁶ Welser, a member of the prominent Augsburg banking family, became prioress in 1504, in which capacity she oversaw renovation of the convent church. This construction took place from February 1516 to November 1517, and therefore overlapped for about seven months with the initial compilation of the Augsburg directorium (August 1515 to August 1516).⁷⁷

This circumstance may explain why there are two entries for the church dedication anniversary. One entry falls in calendrical order just before Michaelmas (September 29).⁷⁸ A second note about the church dedication sits in the midst of other additions at the very end, nevertheless explaining that "it should be known that our church dedication anniversary is always on the day before St. Michael [es jst zů wissen auf vnser kirch weych jst alweg auf sant michels aubent]."⁷⁹ During the year in which this directorium was recorded, Michaelmas and the church dedication anniversary were celebrated before construction on the new church began. After the new space was completed, the chantress may have needed to confirm that their dedication should not be celebrated on a different day. During this time of heightened patronage, the convent may have commissioned a new set of liturgical books; perhaps they had been following the mass liturgies of the parish and now finally obtained a Dominican gradual. Whatever liturgical changes began in August 1515, they were likely experienced by the sisters of St. Katherine in Augsburg as positive renewals over which they exercised control.

The impression that this directorium originated as a chantress's private notes is strengthened by the messy organization. For example, the feast of the Annunciation (March 25) inexplicably

is followed by Benedict (March 21), followed in turn by Joseph (March 19).⁸⁰ More strangely yet, the rubrics for the Annunciation and for Joseph explain where to find their tracts (a genre of chant that replaced the joyful *Alleluia* during the penitential period before Easter), while those for Benedict explain which *Alleluias* to sing when he is celebrated after Easter. In 1516, Easter fell on March 23. Benedict's feast coincided with Good Friday and therefore had to be postponed, which would at least explain the notes about what to do when Benedict was celebrated after Easter.⁸¹ A possible explanation for the reverse order of these feasts might be that the notes were made not in the order in which the feasts were observed but rather in the order in which the decisions were made. Scheduling issues appear more explicitly in the second half of the text, which handles feasts during Paschal Time (Eastertide). For example, general instructions are given for totum duplex feasts that fall on the rogation days before the Ascension.⁸² In general, however, the Augsburg directorium does not contain the systematic scheduling instructions characteristic of its Observant counterparts.

Instead, the overwhelming emphasis is on what one should sing. The directorium not only provides chant incipits but also often indicates which melody should be selected for chants with multiple options. For example, the formulaic *Benedicamus* that closed the office hours had different melodic options based on the rank of the feast.⁸³ The Augsburg directorium specifies, for example, that during the octave of St. Augustine, "one sings the *Benedicamus* for three lessons on Saturday, and on the Octave the one for nine lessons [singt man das benedicamus von dreÿ leczgen am samstag, vnd an der auctoff das von neun leczgen]."⁸⁴ Similarly, during the octave of the Nativity, they sing "the shorter melody of Our Dear Lady at vespers. At the hours, except for on Sunday and on the Octave, one sings the long melody [die kirczer weÿß von vnser lieben frauen zÿ der fesper. Zÿ den zeÿtten außgenumen am suntag vnd an der auctoff so singt man die lang weÿß]."⁸⁵ The directorium frequently designates the locations of certain chants in the community's books, often by referring to a book's physical characteristics. For example, for the mass of St. Ursula, "the sequence is at the end of the red book [sequencz stat am rotten bÿch zÿ hindergost]" or, for Katherine of Alexandria, "the sequence *Eia*, it stands at the beginning of the missal [seqvencz eÿa, die stat am mesß bÿch am fodresten]."⁸⁶ To us, these melodies are irrecoverable without the specific manuscripts from which the Augsburg sisters sang. For them, the instructions were sufficient to coordinate their local practice.

In 1444, five sisters from the Observant convent of Schönnensteinbach sought refuge in St. Katherine in Augsburg while Alsace was ravaged by the Armagnacs.⁸⁷ Although they remained in the Augsburg convent for more than a year, the Schönnensteinbach sisters never joined the liturgy of the women hosting them. Instead, they kept to themselves and performed the liturgy according to the Observance.⁸⁸ This experience, separated from the creation of the Augsburg directorium by seventy years, cannot have been its catalyst. Nevertheless, many practices recorded in this manuscript likely represent long-standing traditions that help explain why the Observant Schönnensteinbach sisters refused to participate in communal liturgy at St. Katherine in Augsburg. Although the Augsburg directorium is anchored in the Dominican Rite, its divergent practices attest to the unique piety of the community and the local city saints, through guidelines keyed to the actual physical books from which the community sang.

Defending Tradition: Engelthal

Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 1500,15; Engelthal (1504); scribe unknown; description by Marius Schramke available online; dl.ub.uni-

freiburg.de/diglit/hs1500-15 (accessed 5 August 2023).

We are much better informed about the origin of the Engelthal directorium. Its opening folios record that the prioress, Margareta of Kürmreuth, commissioned it in 1504 in praise of God and for the instruction of the sisters.⁸⁹ Although the prologue does not mention it explicitly, in 1504 Engelthal came under the control of the city of Nuremberg, and the prioress may have correctly foreseen what was in store. Ten years later, the city council forced Engelthal to adopt the Observant reform, and Margareta was deposed and imprisoned.⁹⁰ The directorium may represent her way of preemptively defending her community's liturgical practice at a moment of change.

The contents of the Engelthal directorium are similar to those of the book from St. Katherine in Augsburg, but they are more extensive. Like the Augsburg manual, the Engelthal directorium also provides chant incipits, specifies which melody to use when there are multiple options, and indicates which physical books contain the full texts and music.⁹¹ However, the Engelthal manual also contains three classes of information that are absent from the Augsburg book: mandates of the general chapter, processional routes, and commemorative masses.

The decisions of the general chapter, gathered in an appendix at the end of the manuscript, contain the liturgical legislation passed at the 1498 general chapter.⁹² The practice of appending decisions of the general chapter at the end of liturgical manuals is also observed in both the Latin-language and the German-language ordinaria.⁹³ This method differs, however, from the Observant directoria, which insert the general chapter's new legislation at the appropriate point in the text. Perhaps by including this legislation, the Engelthal sisters sought to signal that they were keeping pace with the Dominican order's liturgical change.

In contrast, the other two types of information—processional routes and commemorative masses—represent an entrenchment of local practice against anticipated reform initiatives. The Engelthal directorium contains an extensive description of the altar-washing ceremony on Maundy Thursday. As discussed above, this ceremony entailed processing through the external church, which was off-limits to strictly enclosed religious women because it was outside the enclosure. Whereas the Observant sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg remained within their choir, the Engelthal directorium makes quite clear that they performed the ceremony according to the standard Dominican rubrics, ignoring enclosure. The Engelthal sisters began the ceremony in the external church before the high altar and only afterward reentered the area of enclosure to wash the altars there.

On Maundy Thursday at the altar washing, one sings in the church before the high altar the responsory *In monte Oliveti*, then the antiphon *Ave regina*, and the priest says a versicle and the first collect.... Afterwards, one goes into our choir and we sing the responsory *Amicus meus* and then the antiphon *Te Deum patrem* and the priest reads the first versicle and the collect. Afterwards, one goes into the chapel on the dormitory called the sacristy and we sing the responsory *Unus ex vobis me tradet* and the antiphon *Archangelis* and the priest again reads the first versicle and the collect.

Am antlas tag, so man die altar wescht, So singt man jn der kirchen vorm fron altar den responß *Jn monte oliueti*, Dar nach die antiphon *Aue Regina*, vnd der priester spricht einen versickel vnd die ersten Collecten.... Darnach so get man auff vnser kor, so singen wir den responß *Amicus meus* vnd darnach die antiphon *Te deum patrem*, vnd der priester list aber den ersten versickel vnd Collecten. Darnach so get man jn die Capeln auff dem

schlaffhawß, der sagerer genant, so singen wir den responß vnus ex vobis me tradet vnd die antiphon *archangelis* vnd der prister list aber den ersten versickel vnd Collecten.⁹⁴

Engelthal's version of the altar-washing ceremony is simply the same as that of the friars, conforming to the Dominican Rite. However, their procession violated both active and passive enclosure—first, when the sisters left enclosure for the outer church and, second, when the priest entered the convent precincts to wash the altars there. The Engelthal sisters may have recorded this ceremony so extensively because they were afraid that if they underwent reform they would lose both it and the ceremonial connection to their patron saints that the altar procession reaffirmed yearly.

In 1504, Engelthal's practices of institutional memory were also under threat. The directorium records extensive obligations for memorial masses and vigils for deceased patrons and community members, possibly more to defend than to facilitate these traditions. In the course of a reform, the Observants reorganized commemorative obligations in order to reduce their impact on each community's liturgical commitments, insisting that commemorations be restricted to the four designated yearly anniversaries.⁹⁵ Alternatively, memorial masses could be outsourced to paid priests, as were the memorial masses in the Observant convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg.⁹⁶ Schramke suggests that the Engelthal sisters attempted to avoid reform by emphasizing the importance of their avid liturgical intercessions for deceased patrons.⁹⁷ Recording their memorial obligations in painstaking detail defended their traditional liturgy against the impending Observant reform.

Non-Dominican Mass Books and Saint Christina Ebner

Whereas the Engelthal altar-washing ritual underscores the sisters' Dominican identity, the Engelthal directorium's designations for mass melodies suggest that the convent at least partially used the liturgy of the secular parish instead of the Dominican mass books. Numerous saints' feasts in the Engelthal directorium designate the *Kyrie* melody by class of saint; for example, "the *Kyrie* and *Sanctus* of confessors [kyrie vnd sanctus von pfaffen]" or "of apostles [von zwelffpoten]."⁹⁸ The Engelthal chantresses cannot have sourced these melodies from Dominican chant books because the Dominican kyriale organized its formulaic melodies by rank of feast (duplex, simplex, etc.) and not by class of saint. One extant local source does contain mass melodies identified in precisely the manner indicated in the Engelthal directorium: the two-volume gradual from the Nuremberg parish church of St. Lorenz, known as the Geese Book for its anthropomorphic illuminations.⁹⁹ Completed in 1507–10, this book is a near contemporary of Engelthal's 1504 directorium and geographically very close. Each volume closes with a kyriale that organizes the melodies by class of saint: apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins.¹⁰⁰ We cannot assume that the melodies contained in the Geese Book are precisely those that were sung in Engelthal. However, the Engelthal sisters clearly owned a kyriale organized in a non-Dominican manner, which makes it likely that it held non-Dominican melodies. They probably also owned a standard Dominican kyriale (the feast of Mary's Nativity specifies "at mass, everything as totum duplex [zw der meß, alle dingk vom totum duplex]"¹⁰¹ in accordance with Dominican practice), but the Engelthal sisters also selected mass melodies from local, non-Dominican sources.

Furthermore, the Engelthal chantresses did not mechanically adopt all mass melodies for each saint of a particular class but, rather, selected melodies from various sources to create

mixed sets. One common set draws together the *Kyrie* melody for virgins, the *Sanctus* of Easter, and the *Agnus dei* from Marian masses. This set was used for Agnes, Agatha, Margaret, Martha, Cecilia, Katherine of Alexandria's Octave, Barbara, and Lucia.¹⁰² Creating such composite masses with melodies from different sources may have been one method for reflecting the rank of a saint's feast. For example, whereas Katherine's Octave used the common *Kyrie* for virgins, the directorium stipulates the troped *Kyrie Magnae deus* (Analecta Hymnica 47, Nr. 99) for her more highly ranked main feast.¹⁰³ (See the next section for tropes.) This particular set of melodies represents a middle rank, important but not as much as the feasts that received tropes.

One further mass somewhat surprisingly uses this same set of melodies. It appears in the directorium's detailed instructions for commemorating the prolific mystical author Christina Ebner (1277–1356). This Engelthal sister had compiled her own visions as well as the Engelthal "sister book," a compendium of the sisters' virtues and visions.¹⁰⁴ All other deceased community members were memorialized through the usual Mass of the Dead, but Engelthal celebrated Ebner with a mass liturgy that elevated her even above some saints. The directorium records that "on the Sunday after the Octave of the Angels [i.e., St. Michael], one sings for Christina Ebner: mass for the Holy Trinity, *Kyrie* for virgins, the gradual as solo, the *Alleluia* as trio, the sequence *Profitentes*, the *Sanctus* for Easter, the *Agnus* for Our Dear Lady. [Der nechst suntag nach der Engel octaua singt man der Cristein Ebnerin: meß von der heyligen driueltigkeyt, *Kyrie* von jungkfrauen, gradual allein, Alleluia salbdritt, Sequentz *prouidentes*, *Sanctus* von ostern, *Agnus* von vnser lieben frauen.]"¹⁰⁵ These rubrics, with their details about the number of singers on the gradual and alleluia, correspond to similar instructions for other saints. This mass was not the usual commemorative mass for a deceased sister. Christina Ebner was celebrated as a local saint.¹⁰⁶

However, Christina Ebner's mass differs from those of the other female saints for whom the same melodies were sung. The Engelthal sisters commemorated their foremother with the Mass for the Holy Trinity, including the Trinitarian sequence *Profitentes unitatem*. One expects the community's local saint to be commemorated with the liturgy for a virgin, but a mass extolling the unfathomable mystery of the triune God suits a renowned mystic. As a verse of the sequence *Profitentes* proclaims, "Human reason cannot grasp these persons nor the distinction between them. [Non humana ratione capi possunt hae personae, nec harum discretio.]"¹⁰⁷ Although the directorium bears no mention of Ebner's narrative contribution to the convent's institutional memory, celebrating her feast with mass for the Holy Trinity memorializes her mysticism. Engelthal diverged from standard Dominican practice, not only in the mass melodies available in their kyriale but also by venerating Christina Ebner as a saint. These extensive instructions testify to a vibrant liturgical culture in Engelthal, which the sisters themselves highlighted in their attempts to preserve it.

Rogue Beautification: Tropes

The vast majority of the instructions in the non-Observant directoria represent formally permissible or at least traditionally tolerated variations on the standard Dominican Rite. One exception is the presence of tropes, additional text and sometimes also additional music either tacked onto or inserted into existing chants.¹⁰⁸ Both manuscripts prescribe the use of tropes on the *Benedicamus*, the formulaic closing of all office hours, and the Engelthal directorium also includes tropes over the *Kyrie* at mass. Tropes were quite common, especially in the high Middle Ages, but, in this context, they prove a notable deviation. The Dominican order never

recognized troping as a permitted practice, and no evidence of it survives in the directoria from Observant convents.

The directorium from St. Katherine in Augsburg names only one trope, *Haec est mater*, sung with the *Benedicamus*, but it appears frequently. The sisters sang it on the feasts of St. Ursula, All Saints, Katherine of Alexandria, Christmas Eve, Epiphany, Eve of the Purification, Annunciation, Nativity of John the Baptist, Eve of the Visitation, St. Anne, and the Assumption.¹⁰⁹ The practice in Engelthal was much more developed and more varied. Schramke identifies several tropes, including four known *Benedicamus* tropes (*Puer natus*, *Exsultandi*, *In laude Jesu*, and *Surrexit*) and three known *Kyrie* tropes (*Fons bonitatis*, *Magnae deus*, and [*Rex genitor ingenite*]).¹¹⁰ Tantalizingly, Schramke notes that several tropes seem to be unique. In addition to a *Kyrie O lumen*, the directorium records the otherwise unattested *Benedicamus* tropes *Natus est Emmanuel* and *In laude matris*, which may have been a contrafact of *In laude Jesu*. The rich practice of troping in sixteenth-century Engelthal, attested by their directorium, reveals that these Dominican sisters deviated from the liturgy of their order to add beauty to their worship. They may even have written some new tropes for themselves.

The non-Observant directoria represent independently compiled supplements that record liturgical practices local to the convent in order to preserve in-house traditions. Their guidelines prescribe practices that could not be standardized across the order because they were specific to one community—that community’s patron saints, that community’s deceased sisters and donors, that community’s physical books. Both Engelthal and St. Katherine in Augsburg engaged in unapproved liturgical practices, such as troping. The women who compiled these manuscripts planned the Dominican liturgy as best suited them, with variations that reflected their community and their circumstances. Although these two manuscripts provide a paltry counterpoint to the rich survival of the Observant directoria, they likely represent a more widespread phenomenon of divergent liturgies in Dominican convents.

Conclusion: Women Fixing Women’s Liturgy

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, many women’s communities compiled their own liturgical manuals in order to manage external interference. Emerging from the context of the Bursfelde reform in northern Germany, the provost’s manual from the Cistercian convent of Medingen in Lower Saxony sought to reconcile the Bursfelde congregation’s standardized *liber ordinarius* with the demands of the local diocese. As Ulrike Hascher-Burger and Henrike Lähnemann have demonstrated, “Direct adoption of the corresponding reform ordinal in the Lüneburg convents was hindered, because even after the reform they were legally subject to the diocese. The provost’s manual is a product of this tension between the diocesan liturgy of the clerics and the Cistercian liturgy of the nuns. [Der direkten Übernahme des entsprechenden Reformordinarius in den Lüneburger Klöstern stand aber entgegen, dass sie auch nach der Reform rechtlich dem jeweiligen Bistum unterstellt waren. Das Propst-Handbuch ist ein Produkt dieses Spannungsverhältnisses zwischen der Diözesanliturgie des Klerus und der Zisterzienserliturgie der Monialen.]”¹¹¹ Recording liturgical observances was a way of negotiating confusing demands and conflicting obligations, of clinging to a threatened tradition, or of asserting agency and independence.¹¹²

Within the Dominican order, such manuals for women’s liturgy were sorely necessary, despite efforts to tailor the standard ordinarium to women’s needs. The centralized Dominican

ordinarium did not adequately treat many aspects of liturgical administration and scheduling, not to mention permissible local variants. In order to perform the liturgy in a manner that truly conformed to the most recent legislation, Dominican communities (not just sisters) needed a supplement similar to the 1421 *correctura* compiled by a Nuremberg friar. The subordinate position of the sisters in the order, however, meant that the *correctura*'s approach (identifying problems in order-wide compliance and petitioning the general chapter) was ill-suited to the women, who had no control over or say in such factors.

In order to grapple with these difficulties, Dominican sisters produced the supplemental manuals that I call directoria. Unlike the ordinaria, there is no evidence for male involvement in the production of these manuscripts, although the Observant sisters often record consulting with friars on specific questions. The initiative of the sisters in producing, annotating, recopying, and adapting these manuals reveals a high degree of liturgical expertise that entailed managing not only the liturgy of the Dominican order but also local and regional observances that affected each convent in a different way. Even when reformed and strictly enclosed, even when unreformed and recalcitrant, Dominican sisters actively and expertly coordinated the liturgy in ways unique to each community.

Beyond the issues created by local variance, the fifteenth century was a particularly busy time for liturgical change in the Dominican order. By the fifteenth century, enough novelty and incoherence had been introduced into the Dominican Rite that it was downright impossible for pious and obedient sisters to mindlessly perform a liturgy dictated to them by men. Dominican sisters therefore used the directoria to collect new legislation, including not only the changes ratified up to the 1420s when the directoria were first compiled but also continuing annotations over several generations of sisters throughout the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century. The German-language Observant directoria reveal the extent to which the practice of liturgical coordination evolved over time, due both to the inherent variability of the liturgical calendar and to the processes of historical change.

CHAPTER 6

Liturgical Change, Local Piety, and Gendered Adaptation at St. Katherine in Nuremberg

The Translation of Dominic, 1516

The feast of Dominic's Translation (May 24) showcases many of the Dominican liturgy's shifting structures in a single feast. Falling in the month of vacillation that might or might not be in Paschal Time, it provides an unparalleled example of seasonal variation. Complex to plan, the Translation of Dominic was also highly significant for Dominican identity. The feast of a saint's "translation" commemorated the day on which the saint's grave was opened and the saint's body transferred to a location more suitable for veneration. It was an important event for communities devoted to the saint because it celebrated not only the saint's life but also formal acknowledgment of the cult by the broader church. Moreover, according to the *vitae* of Dominic, a divine miracle had confirmed Dominic's saintliness at his tomb opening. The feast of the Translation of Dominic held special importance for Dominican communities, as the wondrous elevation of their founder's relics reinforced the legitimacy of his order.

The German *Life of Dominic* vividly describes how, when Dominic's grave was opened, a marvelously good smell wafted forth, providing divine confirmation of the founder's saintliness. Multiple bishops, their senses overcome by wonder, reinforced the miracle's authority, as they also bore witness to the extraordinary scent.

And when the stone was removed from the grave, there arose from the grave such a sweet and delightful odor that it was perceived not only in the grave and in the chambers. It was so great that it filled the sense of smell of all the people who were present and the entire church. That odor was unknown and unlike any natural thing, and it surpassed all other good smells. The archbishop and the other bishops and everyone who was there were filled with awe and joy, and they prostrated themselves on the earth, weeping in devotion, and praised God, who had so greatly glorified his saint.

Vnd do der stain alsus ab dem grab ward geleit, do trang ausser dem grab als ein susser vnd wollüstiger smak, daz man nit allein in dem grab vnd in den cellen des empfand. Er waz als groß, daz er die sinne der smackung aller der leut, die do zemol do warent, vnd alle die kirchen erfüllet. Vnd der selbe smak waz vnerkant vnd vngeleich allem naturlichen ding vnd traft vber allen guten smak. Vnd do wurdent der erczpischof vnd die andern pischoff vnd alle die da warent mit einem wunderen vnd mit einer freüde erfüllet vnd leitent sich mit andaht weinend nider auf die erde vnd lobeten got, der als größlichen seinen heiligen hatt glorificiert.¹

This account clearly presented the miracle's legitimizing function by staging the bishops falling down in awe. The depiction of this event in my cover image (Oxford, Keble College, MS 49, f. 78v) adds some characters not present in the story. Mirroring the awed friars on the far left, Dominican sisters stand behind the bishop on the right. While perhaps not historically accurate, the presence of sisters in the image points to a higher truth. Women were an integral part of the order and participated in Dominic's miraculous legacy. This narrative prepared those who read or heard about the tomb opening to grasp the feast's significance for all Dominicans—namely, the manifold recognition of their founder's sainthood through both institutional and divine action.

Indeed, this specific text prepared the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg to better understand both the theological significance of the feast day and, in theory, the texts of the Latin liturgy that they sang.² According to the convent's surviving table-reading manuals, passages from

a German version of Dominic's *Life* were read aloud to the assembled sisters at the communal meal. Thanks to the shelf marks provided by Sister Kunigunde Niklasin (d. 1457), it is possible to determine exactly which passage out of which book the community read for which feast. The selfsame manuscript designated for the Translation of Dominic survives today as Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. III.1.2° 7.³ We thus know exactly what they read and its precise relationship to the Latin liturgical texts for the Translation of Dominic.

The overlap is merely conceptual. The German text owned by the Nuremberg sisters was a translation of Dietrich of Apolda's *Life of Dominic* (1285–98), whereas the Latin matins lessons were drawn from the *Life* written by Humbert of Romans (1256).⁴ The two versions recount basically the same event, but they provide different details and focus on different narrative persons. Because it did not correspond to the Latin readings at matins, the text was of little use to sisters with intermediate Latin ability trying to understand the lessons literally. Yet this reading, with its accessible and engaging account of the wondrous smell at Dominic's tomb opening, drew attention to sensory experience while the community enjoyed a meal in honor of their patron. Hearing this account, the sisters in Nuremberg prepared themselves, as I have prepared you, to approach the Latin liturgy with an understanding of the feast's broader significance.

Returning to the feast of the Translation of Dominic, this chapter creates a bookend with [Chapter 1](#). There I outlined in principle how the liturgy of this feast was coordinated according to the standard rules laid out in the Dominican ordinarium as it was codified in 1256. Here I jump forward to the eve of the Protestant Reformation and describe the liturgy for Dominic's Translation according to a set of German-language liturgical manuals used in one specific community, St. Katherine in Nuremberg, for the particular circumstances of a specific year, 1516. This concrete example portrays in vivid detail the complexities of medieval Dominican liturgy that I uncover in this book. The uniformity of the Dominican Rite had been fractured by the general chapter's imperfect legislation, by the institutional inattention to the restrictions on women's liturgy, by permitted regional variance, and—as we shall see—by differences in local solutions to liturgical puzzles. This example illustrates how Dominicans strove to fix the evolving complexities of the order's liturgy by fixing their practices in writing.

Anchoring this reconstruction is a diary entry preserved at the end of Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VII, 76. This codex lacks a medieval library signature and was therefore likely in active use by the chantress.⁵ Perhaps it is the very book kept at the chantress's seat in the choir stalls, as mentioned in the Nuremberg sisters' letters to St. Gallen.⁶ The sparse detail of this note is supplemented by a uniquely preserved set of liturgical manuals that permit a rich reconstruction of the convent's ritual life. These documents reveal how sisters coordinated this important saint's feast with the Temporale cycle and reconciled Dominic's Translation with the increasing status of Corpus Christi; they explain how this community adopted and adapted the legislation and mandates of the Dominican general chapter; they show how the sisters managed prohibitions (e.g., against women handling incense); and, finally, they reveal how these sisters actively cultivated their role within the civic society of Nuremberg, even while maintaining strict enclosure. Dominican liturgy at the close of the Middle Ages was not the same as it had been in 1256 and, by the fifteenth century, the rules about what to do were by no means self-evident. This final chapter explores how one community expertly navigated the shifting, conflicting, and evolving liturgical norms of the Dominican Rite.

Writing Their Own Rules: The Ecosystem of Normative Books at St. Katherine in Nuremberg

As the foregoing chapters have established, multiple documents governed various aspects of liturgical practice in a Dominican community. The constitutions mandated, for example, which days were fast days and where and when to say the Little Office of the Virgin. The ordinarium contained rules for coordinating the chants and readings from performance books, for scheduling the moveable feasts of the Temporale with the fixed feasts of the Sanctorale, and—in the German translations—for adapting rituals to the restrictions placed on religious women. The directoria supplemented the ordinarium with local specifics, legislative updates, and detailed guidelines for complex circumstances. Coordinating the yearly calendar of feasts was the most complex task in preparing communal ritual, but it was not the only aspect of liturgy that required planning. Supplementing the ordinaria and

directoria that survive from Nuremberg, a sacristan's manual describes how to decorate both the external church and the sisters' choir, table-reading manuals specify which texts to select for the communal meals, and an indulgence record defines obligations to the local townsfolk. Furthermore, the letters that the Nuremberg sisters sent to the community of St. Katherine in St. Gallen reveal further information about their practices. Unlike the directoria, which were derived from a textual base drawn up in Schönensteinbach, these additional Nuremberg manuals specifically reflect the Nuremberg convent's possessions and circumstances.

It is exceedingly rare to have such a complete set of liturgical manuals from a single community, male or female. The convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg has long been recognized as a remarkable case, both for the size of its expansive fifteenth-century library and for the rate at which its books survive.⁷ The incredible wealth of sources from the community has led to its overrepresentation in studies of late medieval German women's communities.⁸ Still, despite the long tradition of scholarship on St. Katherine in Nuremberg, very little has addressed the convent's liturgy, focusing instead on German-language book production and devotional literature.⁹ This convent's records provide unparalleled insight into the practice of late medieval Dominican liturgy, and this chapter advances our knowledge by connecting the previously unrecognized directoria with a set of documents that have been known to scholarship but remain understudied.

1. Sacristan's manual; Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VII, 16; Katharina of Mühlheim?; 1436; Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 284–85.
2. Table-reading manual; Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VII, 25; Elisabeth Karlin; 1436–42; Schneider, 306.
3. Table-reading manual; Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VII, 79; Kunigunde Niklasin; 1455–57; Schneider, 394–95.
4. Indulgence record; Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 6; scribes unknown; 1450s?; Kurras, *Die Handschriften des GNM*, 1.1:3–4, dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs6/1 (accessed 5 August 2023).

5. Letters; Wil, Dominikanerinnenkloster St. Katharina, “Schwesternbuch” (no signature); Elisabeth Muntprat and other sisters; 1480s on; Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen*, 309–11; *Das “Konventsbuch,”* e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/kaw/SrBuch (accessed 5 August 2023).

The sacristan’s manual was compiled in 1436 to secure institutional memory when the community’s sacristan left to reform another convent.¹⁰ According to a convent-internal account, Sister Katharina of Mühlheim had become “novice mistress, sacristan, councilor, and chaperone at the speaking window [nouitzen maisterin, kusterin, rotschwester vnd vberhorerin am redvenster]” when St. Katherine was reformed in 1428.¹¹ In 1436, she traveled to the convent of Tulln, located in modern Austria about twenty miles northwest of Vienna.¹² As Gerhard Weilandt suggests, Katharina’s departure for Tulln likely provided the impetus for compiling the sacristan’s manual in the same year.¹³ The manual contains an eclectic set of notes pertaining to the sacristan’s duty to oversee the condition and cleanliness of the church buildings as well as all textiles, liturgical tools, and decorative objects.¹⁴ Annotations in a variety of hands show that the manual continued to be used and updated as circumstances changed and as objects wore out. Later sacristans added to the knowledge contained in the manual by recording their own experiences. For example, one sister timed certain rituals with an hourglass so that future administrators could better plan the daily schedule on important feasts.¹⁵ The sacristan’s manual reveals how the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg implemented the order’s centralized guidelines while adapting them to the convent’s material circumstances.

Two manuals for the table readings at communal meals designate appropriate texts for the cycle of feasts. The earlier manual was compiled by Sister Elisabeth Karlin, who also came to Nuremberg with the reforming party from Schönensteinbach and was initially appointed subchantress (“vntter sengerin”).¹⁶ Karlin completed her manual by 1442; in that year, she was sent to reform the convent of St. Mary Magdalene in Pforzheim.¹⁷ The manuscript is in Karlin’s own hand, so it is more likely to have been produced in anticipation of a reform commission, rather than in response. In 1455–57, Sister Kunigunde Niklasin produced a revised table-reading

manual.¹⁸ Unlike Karlin and Katharina of Mühlheim, Niklasin entered St. Katherine in Nuremberg before the reform and accepted the Observance.¹⁹ Niklasin adopted Karlin's existing guidelines and format but radically expanded the content with ferial days throughout the year and sixty-six additional Sanctorale feasts.²⁰ Most important, she facilitated finding the correct readings by assigning shelf marks to each book in the convent library and drawing up a systematic catalog, which was bound together with the table-reading manual.²¹ Like the sacristan's manual, this codex enjoyed continuous use through the end of the fifteenth century.²²

The table-reading manuals outline a yearly cycle of German texts following common liturgical organization, with a Temporale and a Sanctorale section beginning on Advent and St. Andrew (November 30), respectively.²³ As previous scholars have pointed out, the manuals imply a deviation from the convent's regulations. At the time of the reform, Master General Bartholomew Texier imposed ordinances stipulating that some Latin be read in addition to German texts: "When they eat or when they drink collation, in the morning there should be a table reading in German and in the evening partly in Latin and partly in German. [Wenn man da yssset oder collacion trinckt, ze tysch lest des morgens teütsch vnd ze abent einen teil latein vnd den andren ze teütsch.]"²⁴ There are no Latin readings registered in the table-reading manuals at all.²⁵ Either they ignored the reform ordinances on this matter or the Latin readings were limited to the rule and constitutions contained in their martyrology.²⁶ The German texts recorded in the table-reading manuals witness to extensive devotional engagement with the meaning of the liturgical year, but judgment on whether the sisters followed their ordinances awaits a codicological study of the martyrology manuscript, which is now held in Moscow.

The indulgence record is not normative in the same way as the other manuals. An anonymous sister produced the main block of indulgences likely in the 1450s; the first two indulgences are dated 1448 and 1451, followed by a large number dated mostly to the fourteenth century, suggesting that recent indulgences were copied before older ones were transferred from another record.²⁷ An ownership mark at the end of the volume states that the book "belongs to the worthy mother prioress and sister, Margareta Karteuserin, and the whole community of St. Katherine in Nuremberg [gehert der erwirdigen müter priorin vnd swester margret

karturserin vnd dem ganczen Couent zů sant katherina zů nurinberg].”²⁸ Karteuserin was appointed chantress at the 1428 reform and cannot have become prioress until after Gertraud Gewichtmacherin’s death in 1469.²⁹ The codex’s disparate parts may have been bound together during Karteuserin’s term as prioress. The indulgences do not dictate the regular course of the community’s liturgy but, rather, promise reward for attentive participation. This benefit was explicitly available to laypersons listening devoutly in the external church. The indulgence records thus reveal how the sisters’ liturgy adapted and connected to the needs of the people in the surrounding city.

Finally, from around 1483 on, the Nuremberg sisters described their liturgical practices in a series of letters to the community of St. Katherine in St. Gallen.³⁰ The Swiss convent was not incorporated into the Dominican order and therefore did not have access to the traditional reform networks of the Observance. In order to obtain the mentorship necessary to bring reform to fruition, the St. Gallen prioress, Sister Angela Varnbühlerin, sought guidance from the prioress of St. Katherine in Nuremberg, Sister Kunigunde Hallerin.³¹ To make their expertise available to the Swiss community, the Nuremberg sisters sent a copy of their Observant directoria, as well as a series of letters over a period of decades, which survive in thematically organized, paraphrased transcriptions.³² This document touches on all areas of liturgical coordination—scheduling, legislation, musical practice, and material culture—and differs further from the manuals in that it purports to be descriptive, rather than prescriptive. It therefore provides an unparalleled source for the concrete implementation of Dominican liturgical norms at the end of the Middle Ages.

Some further documents with liturgically relevant contents survive from St. Katherine in Nuremberg. For example, they owned Johannes Meyer’s *Book of Duties* (*Amptbuch*), which contains rich descriptions of liturgical tasks, especially in the guidelines for the novice mistress.³³ It is clear from their letters that the sisters in Nuremberg treated this advice quite loosely, even though they valued it enough to send a copy to St. Gallen.³⁴ Similarly, German-language instructions for the rites of death and burial were included in a book type called *obsequials*, almost always transmitted separately from the *ordinaria* and *directorica*.³⁵ The rubrics contained in these volumes are limited to these particular rituals and do not bear on the

coordination of a regular feast such as the Translation of Dominic. Such documents belong to the full spectrum of German-language liturgical manuals in fifteenth-century Dominican convents, but I leave them aside for the present discussion.

Normative sources must be treated with caution. This chapter's reconstruction draws specifically on sources from Nuremberg and, as the letters to St. Gallen explicitly caution, their guidelines were not universally valid. Moreover, the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg may not have followed their own guidelines to the letter in 1516. Still, whatever actually happened that year, the way I piece the sources together in this chapter echoes the way in which the chantress and other liturgical administrators used these handbooks to organize the liturgy. Tracing these detailed guidelines illuminates how the various rubrics and regulations imposed on Dominican communities were transformed into living practice.

Planning the Translation of Dominic

Each feast's liturgy was influenced by seasonal factors, the rank of the feast, and local circumstances. How the Translation of Dominic was celebrated each year depended on the date of Easter, as the following season (Paschal Time) entailed liturgical variations that fostered its joyful character. While the order's rubrics stipulated how many candles must be lit for each rank of feast, selecting which altar cloths to lay out depended on the available textiles. Even determining when to start each hour relied on local timepieces. Well before the day arrived, numerous organizational decisions set the framework for liturgical performance.

Liturgical Change and New Conflicts: Scheduling the Translation Around Corpus Christi

As discussed in [Chapter 1](#), the liturgy for Dominic's Translation in the 1256 ordinarium took Paschal Time as the default, but it provided instructions for when the feast fell after Trinity Sunday, the official end of Paschal Time. Dominican sisters coordinating their liturgy in 1516 used the post-Trinity alternative. Easter was extraordinarily early that year (March 23), and Trinity Sunday fell on May 18, well before the Translation of Dominic (May 24). Yet, in 1516, Dominicans also grappled with a scheduling issue

that thirteenth-century friars could not have foreseen: Corpus Christi's solemn octave. This scheduling conflict showcases the complications introduced by the general chapter's legislation and the sisters' leeway in deciding how to handle them.

Celebrated on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi was introduced to the Dominican calendar by the general chapter in 1323.³⁶ Its potential conflict with the Translation of Dominic was quickly recognized and, in 1325–27, the general chapter ratified legislation that regulated scheduling should Corpus Christi fall either on the day of or on the day after Dominic's Translation.³⁷ For 150 years, these guidelines were sufficient, but a significant complication was introduced in 1481 when the Dominican general chapter granted Corpus Christi a "solemn" octave, which otherwise only Easter and Pentecost possessed. During a solemn octave, all liturgical observances were reserved only for that feast, and nothing else could be celebrated. After this legislation was confirmed in 1481, any saints' feasts that fell in the week following Corpus Christi needed to be rescheduled outside of its solemn octave.³⁸ In 1516, Corpus Christi fell on May 22. Its solemn octave therefore affected the Translation of Dominic on May 24. The Dominican general chapter had never released specific guidelines for this eventuality. Dominican communities, friars and sisters alike, rescheduled Dominic's Translation according to their own discretion.

A directorium entry from St. Katherine in Nuremberg records how in 1516 the sisters resolved the issue and celebrated both the body of Christ and their order's saintly patron with due honor ([Figure 8](#)). The brief passage explains how they accommodated the scheduling conflict and managed a slight overlap, deviating from the local friars.

Item, the feast of the Translation of St. Dominic, our holy father, fell on the Saturday within the octave of Corpus Christi. We celebrated him afterwards on the Friday after the octave. On the Octave at vespers, we sang everything for St. Dominic, and [we sang] the responsories, versicles, and the *Benedicamus* with 'alleluia' up until matins. At vespers, we only observed a memoria for vespers of the Octave of Corpus Christi and, at compline, we sang the hymn to Dominic's melody. And we were told by the old fathers in the

Dominican friary, that we acted correctly in observing the Translation of Dominic on this Friday, but they celebrated him on a different day.

Jtem, das fest der translacio Santi dominici, vnser heilligen vatters, geviel an dem sam[s]tag jn der octau corporis christi. Den begieng wir dar nach am freytag nach der octau, vnd an der octau sang wir zw vesper alle ding von Sant dominicus vnd das Responß vnd versicll vnd *b[e]nedicamus* mit ‘alleluia’ piß zw metten, vnd hielten zw vesper newr ein memory zw vesper der octau corporis christi, vnd sangen zw complet zw dem ymnus die melody von Sant dominicus. Vnd wir wurden von den alten vettern zw predigern vntter weist, das wir recht hetten gethan, das wir Sant dominicus translacio auff dissen freytag hetten gehalten, aber sy hielten jn auff einen andern tag.³⁹

The community of St. Katherine in Nuremberg followed the regulations of the Dominican general chapter by observing Corpus Christi’s solemn octave. The sisters rescheduled Dominic’s Translation to the earliest possible date, the very next day after the Octave of Corpus Christi (Friday, May 30). This solution was not a foregone conclusion. The Nuremberg friars made a different decision and celebrated the Translation of Dominic on some other unspecified day. This note makes clear that there was no single correct solution to this scheduling conflict and, although the friars and sisters made different decisions, each decision was defensible and workable. The women of St. Katherine in Nuremberg were sufficiently expert in Dominican liturgy to make their own plan without the friars’ input. The general chapter’s insufficient legislation opened a space for flexibility and variance in the practice of Dominican liturgy.

Red, White, and Green: Decorating the Church

Once the day had been fixed, liturgical preparations began. Before any celebrations started, the community needed to decorate the church appropriately and prepare the liturgical instruments. Some universal directives are provided in the standard Dominican books. For example, the conventual missal specifies that on totum duplex feasts, like the Translation

of Dominic, four candles should be lit on the altar at vespers, matins, and mass.⁴⁰ Yet the particulars depended on the objects and images that each individual convent owned. The sacristans of St. Katherine maintained and governed not only the sacred objects in their enclosed choir but also those used in the external church. Like many convents in the region, the sisters' choir was located in an elevated gallery at the west end of the nave, opposite the sanctuary where the high altar stood.⁴¹ Their enclosed choir was separated from the external church by a high wall that blocked sight, although sound passed over it and a grate could be opened to view the Eucharist.⁴² Most of the convent's altars were located in the external church below, and the internal sacristan directed external church wardens in their maintenance and decoration.⁴³ The sacristan's manual from St. Katherine in Nuremberg provides insight into how the community used its decorative objects and textiles.⁴⁴

Der auffart,

It das fest des S. Seruag
geuel am octag in d'
pfingst woche das begiegt
wir. darnach am mont
tag nach der heilige
tryemickit tag vn
wir theyle die ij lece
an dem lece auch in
heron lece als mans
den vzerichet vndt
aber wenn in in dem
osterzeit g' beget sol
so sol man die ij lece
sang auß lese als dan
do geschreibe steen

man

It das fest d' entlao
Santi d'ni vnser heil
lige vatters geuel an
dem samstag ~~der octau~~ in
der octau corporis xpi
den begiegt wir dar
nach am freytag nach
d' octau vn an d' octau

sang wir zu vß alle
ding vo. S. d'ni vn
das knß vn vß
vn bnequung mit
alla pß zu mette
vn huelle zu vß
herot em memory
zu vo octau corpus
xpi vn sange zu o
plet zu dem ynung
die medey vo. S. d'ni,
vn nar wurden vo
den alte vetter zu
pdyer vntt wess
das wir recht hete
gethan das wir. S.
d'ni vn laco auff
dise freytag hete
gehallet ab si hette
in auff em ander
tag.

It an S. nach tag
hielt wir vß vo dem
apl vn em memory
vo d' heilige frarbe
S. amma,

Figure 8. The directorium entry detailing the scheduling decisions when the Feast of the Translation of Dominic fell within the octave of Corpus Christi in 1516. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 221v.

On the Translation of Dominic, the Nuremberg sacristans decorated the sisters' choir with special care, not only because Dominic was their order's founder but also because the altar in the enclosed choir was consecrated to Dominic, with secondary dedications to Thomas Aquinas and Peter Martyr. As the manual instructs, on their feasts, "they should be worthily commemorated at the altar and one should put banners out [so schüllen si löblich avf dem alter begangen werden vnd man sol vannen avf steken]."⁴⁵ In addition, on Dominic's feasts, the sacristan placed a votive image in front of the altar with a candle: "The sacristan should place his image before the altar and light a candle before him at all the hours, at vespers and mass a large candle. [Die küsterin sol sein pild vür den alter setzen vnd zv allen tzeiten ein kertzen vor im prennen, zv der vesper vnd meß ein große kertzen.]"⁴⁶ Within their enclosure, the sisters of St. Katherine enhanced their devotion to Dominic through visual means. Supplementing the mandated four candles on the altar, the banners and the votive image were unique to Nuremberg because these were art objects that this convent uniquely possessed.

In addition, especially nice altar cloths were used for Dominic's feasts, both in the sisters' choir and in the external church. The community owned dozens of altar cloths in different colors, each cloth cut to fit a specific altar. Most of the altars in the external church only had two or three altar cloths, but the high altar had no fewer than six different options and the altar in the sisters' choir had seven.⁴⁷ The head sacristan delivered the appropriate altar cloths and vestments through the small rotating door in the sacristy so that the church warden could decorate the altars in the external church. Because in 1516 the sisters began the liturgy for Dominic's Translation at vespers on the Octave of Corpus Christi, the sacristans had to remove the Corpus Christi altar cloths and decorate the altars for Dominic after none and before vespers.

Dominic's Translation may have been visually connected to Corpus Christi by means of the altar cloth used in the sisters' choir for those feasts. The sisters selected different altar cloths by color according not only to the

importance but also to the type of feast—for example, red for all martyrs of both sexes and white for female saints who were not martyred, like the Empress Kunigunde.⁴⁸ For the most important feasts, however, they simply used the best textiles they owned. The sacristan’s manual specifies a red velvet altar cloth both for Corpus Christi and for Dominic’s feasts.⁴⁹ Perhaps this is the same altar cloth described in the 1480s: “For feasts of our fathers, they use a beautiful velvet, which is embroidered in red and white and green. [So vnser väter sind, nemend sy ainen schönen samet, der ist gesprengt also rot vnd wiss vnd grún.]”⁵⁰ On Corpus Christi, the cloth was removed after compline and replaced by a green one with black trim for the duration of the octave.⁵¹ In 1516, the sacristan may have taken down the red velvet altar cloth after Corpus Christi and laid it back out one week later for the Translation of Dominic.

Furthermore, the sisters’ devotion to Dominic was visible to any friars, priests, church wardens, or even pious townsfolk who came to their external church during the day. On totum duplex feasts like the Translation of Dominic, the church warden opened the panels of the altarpieces in the church so that the inner panel paintings and the central retable shrines were exposed.⁵² The sacristan’s manual further specifies that one “puts out the best black vestments [gibt die pesten swartzen mesgewont hin avs]” for the use of the priest.⁵³ Because the textiles and instruments were kept and cared for within the convent, the sisters controlled which were used on which feast, even for the external church. They decided how to display their piety to priests and layfolk outside their enclosure.

The sacristan’s manual reveals the expertise employed by the sacristans of St. Katherine in Nuremberg in preparing their sacred spaces for the feasts of St. Dominic. The convent owned a large enough number of liturgical textiles and instruments that it could be confusing. The sisters who cared for these art objects facilitated their use by tagging them: “Item, if the sacristan confuses the altar cloths that belong in the church, she should look for the notes on them, where it says which belongs on which altar. [Jtem, ob sich die küsterin an den altertüchern verirret, die in die kirchen gehöret, so süch si die prieflein dor an, do stet an, welches avf yeden alter gehoret.]”⁵⁴ Through the compiled manual, the inventories, and the tags, Katharina of Mühlheim’s expertise was transferred to new sacristans long after she had taken her knowledge with her to Tulln. These local guidelines were

necessary because they outlined the use of objects and textiles specific to this convent and which no centralized mandates could possibly regulate.

Two Clocks and an Hourglass: Scheduling the Liturgy in Conformity with the Parish

After picking the day and preparing the ornaments, the liturgical administrators set the times of day for the office hours and mass. In years when the Translation of Dominic fell after Trinity Sunday, as it did in 1516, the community of St. Katherine radically shifted the times of their office liturgies. In particular, matins was celebrated while it was still light in the evening, directly after compline. The practice of “daytime matins” (*Tagesmetten*), as the Nuremberg sources call it, was already regulated in Humbert of Romans’s 1256 ordinarium. However, the Nuremberg Dominicans—both friars and sisters—adapted their liturgical scheduling to match local custom. Both Dominican communities in Nuremberg conformed to the parish rather than to the order’s rubrics.

Normally, compline was the final office hour of each day, and the sisters had a short time for individual prayer and contemplation before retiring to the dormitory for sleep, to be woken around eleven o’clock at night for matins.⁵⁵ However, on Trinity Sunday, the official end of Paschal Time, the matins office of important feasts returned to its full length of three nocturns. From this day through the feast of St. Augustine (August 28), Dominican communities observed the long hour of matins in the evening after compline on duplex and totum duplex feasts.⁵⁶ That is, on the feasts with the longest and most ornate liturgies, Dominicans observed matins before going to bed so that friars and sisters could sleep through the short summer nights.

Singing matins on the previous evening in the summer was a common practice, and other communities in Nuremberg also observed it. Yet the Nuremberg parish churches discontinued daytime matins after the feast of Mary Magdalene (July 22). The Nuremberg sisters’ copy of the Zurich ordinarium translation explains the practice, noting that local custom required them to deviate from the order’s rubrics:

On the feast of the Holy Trinity and following, on all feasts that are duplex and totum duplex, up until and including the feast of St.

Augustine (August 28), one should sing matins after compline in the evening. The Friars Preachers here sing matins after compline from the feast of the Holy Trinity up until the feast of Mary Magdalene (July 22). Then they stop and only sing daytime matins on totum duplex feasts, and on duplex feasts at night.

An der heiligen dryualtikeit vnnnd dannen hin, an allen hohzeiten die duplex oder totum duplex sind, vntz an sant Augustinus tult Ingelossen, sol man die metten nach der complet an dem abent singen. Die pruder hie zu den predigern singen metten nach der complet von dem fest der heiligen dryualtikeit auff das fest marie magdalene. Da horen sie auff vnd singen newrt tages metten in toto duplici, vnd duplici bey der nacht.⁵⁷

The sacristan's manual from St. Katherine confirms this information and further specifies which totum duplex exception remains between July 22 and August 28: "We sing the last daytime matins on the Eve of St. Dominic (August 5) and no longer, since they do not sing it longer in the city. [Wir singend die letzten tages metten avf sant dominicvs obent vnd nit lenger do von daz man si in der stat nit lenger singet.]"⁵⁸ The main feast of the order's founder and patron drove the Nuremberg Dominicans back to the order's regulations, but otherwise both friars and sisters followed the local secular churches.

Late fifteenth-century sacristan's manuals also survive from both of the major parish churches in Nuremberg, St. Lorenz and St. Sebald. Judging from these documents, the Dominicans sought specifically to conform to St. Lorenz, which also started celebrating daytime matins on Trinity Sunday.⁵⁹ The St. Lorenz sacristan's manual does not specifically instruct that daytime matins ends after the feast of Mary Magdalene, but that feast is the last time it is mentioned.⁶⁰ To avoid appearing less rigorous than the parish, the Nuremberg Dominicans followed local custom and discontinued daytime matins—at least for duplex feasts—when St. Lorenz did. In this context, celebrating daytime matins on Dominic's main feast (August 5) was not merely an act of obedient compliance with the order's regulations, it was a public act of pious devotion to their patron, audible (if not visible) to the Nuremberg townsfolk.

The sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg had to adjust their entire daily schedule to accommodate both matins and lauds in the evening, but telling time in late medieval Nuremberg was complex. The convent owned a clock that worked as our modern ones do, splitting the day into two halves, each with twelve hours of equal length. It was used to determine when to start the evening hours: “On the Eve of Trinity Sunday, one sings the first daytime matins and rings vespers when [the clock] in the back strikes two, or a little later if it is a fast. One should do this on all the days when daytime matins is sung. [An der heiligen drivalentikeit obent singet man die ersten tages meten vnd leüt vesper wen es hinnen zwey schleht, oder spoter so man vastet. Das sol man halten an allen den tagen so man tags metten singet.]”⁶¹ However, their clock was apparently not reliable “because it sometimes doesn’t strike right [wan es vnterweilen nit reht schleht].”⁶² The sisters could hear the city clock, but this did not always help because the city clock struck the *Garaus*. Rather than dividing the day into two equal halves of twelve hours each, it struck one o’clock at sunrise and sunset and adjusted the number of following hours according to the amount of daylight. The length of the hours was mechanically identical, but in high summer the day had sixteen hours and the night, eight; in the dead of winter, vice versa.⁶³ Two o’clock by the convent’s modern clock had a varying equivalent hour by the city clock, depending on what time of year it was, when the sun had come up, and therefore how many hours it had been since the city clock struck one. The sacristan’s manual provides a lengthy set of instructions for telling time during different seasons of the year using their modern clock, the city clock, and an hourglass.⁶⁴ The sacristan’s manual attests to an unusual form of time-telling expertise, rendered necessary by the absurd situation with Nuremberg’s clocks.

Before the sisters had sung a single note for Dominic, the sacristan had already completed a great deal of work for the feast. Her duties entailed integrating the rubrics of the Dominican order with the customs of the local parish and the concrete objects at their disposal, including everything from velvet altar cloths to broken clocks. In years like 1516, when the Translation of Dominic fell after Trinity Sunday, the sisters needed not only to fill the matins office out to a full three nocturns but also to plan for singing it after compline, rather than at night. Coordinating the complex rules, textiles and ornaments, calendrical accidents, and local customs into a

coherent liturgical performance required immense knowledge and expertise, which the liturgical manuals preserved, transmitted, and facilitated.

Creative Responses to Prohibitions and Enclosure: The Office

On Thursday, May 29, 1516, the afternoon and evening were occupied by a series of important office hours: vespers, compline, matins, and lauds. Indeed, due to daytime matins, all three of the major hours for the Translation of Dominic were sung in the evening before the day to which the sisters had actually rescheduled the feast. All of these hours were affected by the factors discussed throughout this book: the season of the year, Dominican legislation, local custom, and the restrictions on women's liturgies. These issues, including censuring and the *Salve regina* procession, were treated in the ordinarium translations, which often fixed problems through simple deletion. The guidelines that Dominican sisters composed to supplement their ordinaria display creative solutions to problems that the friar translators failed to solve. The sources from St. Katherine in Nuremberg illuminate how the prohibitions on women's liturgies affected the sisters' rituals and how the community incorporated local Nuremberg variances. They reveal the profound expertise required to coordinate a liturgical experience that complied with the regulations of the uniform Dominican Rite but which was in many ways wholly singular.

Gendered Prohibition: Incense

The sense of smell held signal importance for the Translation of Dominic, which commemorated the miraculous odor that filled the church when his tomb was opened. The common practice of censuring the altar and community at vespers and lauds gained special meaning on this feast. As Patrick Bergin observes, the liturgy for the Translation of Dominic was overwhelmingly focused on the olfactory miracle that occurred when Dominic's relics were transferred, since "nearly every item of the office refers to the wonderful and miraculous fragrance."⁶⁵ Yet women were prohibited from handling incense because they could not be ordained as deacons. This restriction severely impoverished the sensory experience of

the liturgy for Dominican sisters, more than usual on the Translation of Dominic with its heavy emphasis on wondrous smell.

The vespers office for the Translation of Dominic has three proper chants that emphasize the miraculous scent at Dominic's tomb opening: the super-psalm antiphon, the responsory, and the *Magnificat* antiphon. The super-psalm antiphon performatively declared that the feast of Dominic's Translation had arrived. Yet it did not explicitly mention the transfer of his relics to a place of proper veneration, which normally formed the focus of a saint's translation feast. Instead, "The joyous day is here, on which the king of glory exalted the blessed Dominic by means of a miraculous odor. [Adest dies laetitiae quo beatum Dominicum exaltavit rex gloriae per odorem mirificum.]"⁶⁶ The antiphon identified the feast's object not as the translation of Dominic's remains, but rather as the divine scent that miraculously confirmed Dominic's holiness. The wondrous odor thus superseded the actual translation of his body in importance.

This emphasis on the wondrous odor was retained in the other proper chants for vespers. The formal structure of the responsory that followed Dominic's capitulum reading ("As the morning star in the midst of a cloud [Quasi stella matutina in medio nebulae]," Sirach 50: 6–7) reinterpreted the scriptural metaphor of light in a synesthetic context appropriate to the Translation. The formal ABA' structure of responsories invited textual play, which here forged a poetic link between the miraculous odor of Dominic's Translation and the shining star of the scriptural capitulum.

Respond: Towards the marvelous fragrance of this odor, a crowd of people runs, where everywhere Christ's mercy restores ailing limbs to health.

Verse: The wonders of the true sun reveal a star formerly obscured by a cloud,

Repetenda: where everywhere Christ's mercy restores ailing limbs to health.

Respond: In odoris mira fragrantia populorum currit frequentia, ubi passim Christi clementia sana reddit membra languentia.

Verse: Sidus quondam oppressum nebula veri solis pandunt miracula,

*Repetenda: ubi passim Christi clementia sana reddit membra
languentia.*⁶⁷

The *repetenda ubi passim* superimposed the spreading odor of Dominic's holiness over the spreading light of the scriptural star. Through its repetition, the responsory forged a synesthetic combination of brightness and aroma, that together emphasized Christ's action through Dominic and the miraculous confirmation of his sainthood.

Finally, at the close of vespers, the proper antiphon over the *Magnificat* further reinforced Christ's divine action in sanctifying Dominic through the wondrous scent by creating another figurative link to scripture. The *Magnificat* canticle, sung at the end of vespers every day, is the pregnant Virgin Mary's song of praise to God for fulfilling his promise of a Messiah through her ("My soul doth magnify the Lord [Magnificat anima mea Dominum]," Luke 1: 46–55). Boldly rewriting Mary's canticle, the antiphon for the Translation of Dominic asserts that "Christ doth magnify Dominic by a new miracle, as he brings forth a wondrous odor from his tomb [Magnificat Dominicum Christus novo miraculo, dum odorem mirificum eius profert ex tumulo]."⁶⁸ Attaching this antiphon to the Marian *Magnificat* made Dominic into a figure of Christ, sent to enlighten the people as Christ was sent to save them. Again, this chant underscored the miraculous odor as the sign that this miracle had been accomplished. From the opening of vespers with *Adest dies laetitiae* through the close of vespers with *Magnificat Dominicum Christus*, the proper chants for the Translation of Dominic consistently emphasized the miraculous scent as the medium of divine confirmation.

In the specific context of the liturgy for Dominic's Translation, the prohibition against women using incense was therefore exceptionally damaging to their liturgical experience. In friaries, on duplex and totum duplex feasts, both the altar and the community were censured—that is, covered in the perfumed smoke of burning incense spread by swinging a device called a thurible. When the *Magnificat* antiphon was first intoned, the prior approached the altar where the thurifer (incense-bearer) offered him the thurible. While the community sang the canticle *Magnificat*, the prior censured the altar, then returned to his seat. The thurifer then censured the entire community, beginning with the prior and ending with the lay

brothers.⁶⁹ For friars, on the Translation of Dominic, this sensory ritual formed the climax of a prayer hour that repeatedly emphasized Dominic's sanctity as divinely confirmed by a good smell.

The sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg did not cense. Handling incense was one of the ritual actions prohibited to women because they could not be ordained as deacons.⁷⁰ The chapter on censuring was therefore omitted from both of the surviving German-language ordinaria owned by the convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg. Apparently, before the Observant reform, the sisters had engaged in censuring. Yet, even when the Nuremberg sisters did practice it, the sacristan's manual makes clear that the community was not censed on every duplex and totum duplex feast, as was the friars' practice, but only on Christmas (December 25), the Feast of the Circumcision (January 1), and Epiphany (January 6).⁷¹ By 1516, even this practice had long since been halted. In the letters sent to St. Gallen in the 1480s, the Nuremberg sisters wrote that they no longer censed on any occasion "because they are not ordained to it [won sy sind darzû nit gewicht]."⁷² Because it was recorded in the sacristan's manual, the later sisters of St. Katherine remained aware that their foremothers had practiced censuring, but they did not.

Nevertheless, the Nuremberg sisters may have experienced the smell of incense on the Translation of Dominic. Although the sisters did not handle incense themselves, their confessors censed the high altar on their behalf. This passage in the letters distinguishes carefully between physical and ritual zones of authority: "Their confessors do not preside over the office at vespers on great feasts, only the prioress and the subprioress. But the confessors cense the altars, but in their choir neither they nor the confessors cense. [Ir bichtvätter haltend nit dz officium zû vesper, so gross vest ist, nun die priorin vnd die superiorin. Aber die altar beröchend die bichtväter, aber in irem cor rochend weder sy oder die bichtvätter nit.]"⁷³ The letters assert that the prioress and subprioress retain the privilege of serving as liturgical presider at the office hours, even if their confessor is in the church. Only he is allowed to handle incense, and he duly censes the external altars.

The mention of plural "altars" is curious because the Dominican ordinarium stipulates that only the high altar be censed. It does make one concession: "If it is the feast of some saint who has one of the minor altars in the church, after censuring the high altar, cense that one. Otherwise, minor

altars should never be censed. [Si fuerit festum alicujus Sancti qui habeat Altare aliquod de minoribus in Ecclesia, post thurificationem majoris Altaris, thurificetur illud. Alias nunquam thurificentur minora Altaria.]”⁷⁴ In accordance with this rubric, the plural form in the letters may be holding space for the feasts of the saints to whom a secondary altar in the church was dedicated. The convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg did have an altar consecrated to Dominic, but it was in the sisters’ choir, and their confessor was not permitted to enter the sisters’ enclosure, as the passage in the letters makes clear. The women of the community and their altar for Dominic remained without incense, creating a deviation from the friars’ liturgy.

For the friars, the practice of censing on major feasts created a happy confluence in the liturgy for the Translation of Dominic. The repeated invocations of the miraculous odor emanating from Dominic’s open tomb culminated in the real experience of the smell of incense spreading through their own sacred space. For the sisters, however, this activation of Dominic’s legend through their own senses was hampered, if not wholly absent. The high altar lay at the opposite end of the church from the western elevated choir. Could the aroma of their confessor’s incense waft that far? Regardless of whether the sisters understood the Latin liturgical texts, as women they were not permitted to use the incense that enriched the liturgy of their brothers. This prohibition impoverished the sensory aspect of Dominican women’s liturgy. The surviving manuals from St. Katherine in Nuremberg show that they knew and consciously followed the rules.

Creative Combinations: Alleluias and the Memoria at Vespers

The sisters’ dedication to strict observance of liturgical mandates does not mean that they mechanically followed an obvious script. As I have repeatedly shown, rules were often incomplete or unclear, and implementing them required independent decision-making. The sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg evidently were well informed about Dominican legislation, and their choice to reschedule Dominic’s Translation conformed to the order’s current legislative requirements regarding Corpus Christi’s solemn octave. However, celebrating one important feast immediately after another meant that the second vespers of Corpus Christi’s Octave overlapped with the first vespers of Dominic’s Translation. The sisters’

decisions to continue singing alleluias and to observe a memoria for Corpus Christi demonstrate both the liturgical expertise and the creativity of the Nuremberg sisters in reconciling two important conflicting feasts.

Normally, on totum duplex feasts an alleluia was sung after the responsories but not after the versicles or after the *Benedicamus*.⁷⁵ These additional alleluias were reserved for feasts during Paschal Time and for solemn octaves, traditionally the week following Easter and the week following Pentecost.⁷⁶ When the octave of Corpus Christi was elevated to a solemn octave in 1481, it gained the same privileges, including the extra alleluias. An annotation in St. Katherine's Latin ordinarium explicitly stipulated that Corpus Christi's solemn octave should have extra alleluias not only on the responsories but also on the versicles and the *Benedicamus*, just like Easter and Pentecost.⁷⁷ The Nuremberg sisters also included this obligation in the directorium they sent to St. Gallen in the 1480s, shortly after the legislation passed.⁷⁸ Falling after Paschal Time ended on Trinity Sunday in 1516, the Translation of Dominic should not have had alleluias over the versicles and the *Benedicamus*. Nevertheless, when the sisters sang "the responsories, versicles, and the *Benedicamus* with 'alleluia' up until matins [das Responß vnd versicll vnd *benedicamus* mit 'alleluia' piß zw metten],"⁷⁹ this was not an unseasonal elevation of the Translation liturgy; it was an appropriate, if unusual, observance of Corpus Christi's solemn octave. Even though vespers was wholly given over to Dominic, the women fulfilled their obligations to Corpus Christi by continuing to sing alleluias after the versicles and the *Benedicamus* right up until the solemn octave's official end.

Similarly, holding a memoria for Corpus Christi at vespers represented a hybrid solution that drew on liturgical regulations in a creative way. When a feast of greater rank suppressed another feast, a memoria was usually held for the suppressed feast. According to the ordinarium, saints' octaves held the rank of simplex.⁸⁰ The Nuremberg sacristan's manual confirms that the Octave of Corpus Christi was celebrated at simplex rank because "we do not sing daytime matins [so singent wir nit tages meten]," a practice reserved for duplex and totum duplex feasts.⁸¹ Dominic's totum duplex Translation suppressed any simplex octave with which it coincided, including Corpus Christi. By holding a memoria for Corpus Christi in 1516, the sisters of St. Katherine flexibly applied the ordinarium's rules to a

situation the order had not foreseen. Unfortunately, the diary entry for 1516 does not reveal specifically which texts they used for the Corpus Christi memoria at vespers. Perhaps they returned to the old practice, which was in use before the solemn octave was introduced and still recorded in the convent's Latin and German ordinaria, where one finds the antiphon *Memoriam fecit* for the vespers memoria during the octave of Corpus Christi.⁸² Even strict adherence to the rules left space for creative solutions.

Breaking Women's Enclosure Through Sound Alone: Indulgences and the *Salve Regina* Procession

For the *Salve regina* procession after compline, the sisters also found a creative way to reconcile two conflicting regulations. Whereas censuring was simply not done, the Nuremberg sisters adapted the post-compline procession. The friars' ritual entailed exiting the choir into the external church, which lay outside the enclosure of a women's convent. None of the three ordinaria owned by St. Katherine contained workable rubrics for women, so they had to invent their own ritual choreography. Their manuals also reveal that they participated in an unregulated but widespread ritual variation that incorporated Dominic into the *Salve regina* procession on certain days. Moreover, the indulgence record includes numerous indulgences associated with this ritual. External persons certainly were not admitted to the convent precincts, but from their enclosed choir loft the sisters could be heard in the external church below. Lay townsfolk were incentivized to attend certain ceremonies of the sisters' liturgy through these indulgences, which were granted not only to the women performing the chants but also to anyone who listened to them with pious attention. The Nuremberg women expertly modified the *Salve regina* procession to observe the restrictions placed on women, to accommodate their own piety, and to provide a civic service, projecting their voices beyond the bounds of their enclosure.

Rhetoric about the corruption and greediness of the late medieval papacy has fostered a popular imagination that fifteenth-century indulgences were a money-making scheme by which unscrupulous clerics skimmed off contributions intended for the war effort.⁸³ However, indulgences for direct financial contributions were only one of the many

kinds of indulgence that supported the crusades against the Hussites and the Ottomans. Pious Christians could also receive indulgences for attending masses, hearing sermons, performing prayers, or participating in other religious events that were understood to provide spiritual support to the crusaders.⁸⁴ Furthermore, the papal indulgence commissioners also granted “secondary” indulgences that fostered financial support of local institutions and promoted local economies.⁸⁵ The indulgences granted to St. Katherine in Nuremberg created a relationship of mutual aid between the convent and the local townsfolk, who accessed the church’s “treasury of merits” by donating money or objects such as books or candles to the convent and participating aurally in their liturgy.

In one indulgence, dated December 30, 1470, Georg I of Schaumberg, Prince-Bishop of Bamberg, offered anyone present for the sisters’ *Salve regina* procession forty days’ indulgence: “To all the Christian faithful, who in the manner described above, as true penitents, have confessed and, with contrition, are present when the said antiphon is sung and the collect read, and who devoutly recite this antiphon or a *Pater Noster* with three *Ave Marias*, we promise forty days. And to those who burn a candle from the beginning to the end of these prayers, an additional twenty days. [Auch andern cristen glaubigen, die in obenrürter maß sam war püsßer gepeicht vnd mit rewe gegenwertig sein so man sülche anthifen singt vnd Collecten list vnd die selben anthifen oddir ein *pater noster* mit dreien *Aue maria* auch andechtiglich sprechen virczig tag. Vnd denn die zu sülchem gebete ein wachlicht von anbegynn biß zum end brennen ander zweinczig tag.]”⁸⁶ The letters that the Nuremberg sisters sent to St. Gallen attest that many laypeople of the city took advantage of this indulgence: “In their choir, there are candles donated for the *Salve* by secular persons. In the church, the church warden lights them, in the choir, the sacristan. [In irem cor sind kertzen geschickt zû dem *Salve* von weltlichen lúten. In der kirchen zündt der kilchenknecht an, im cor die kustrin.]”⁸⁷ Since the bulk of letters date from around 1483, it is evident that the townsfolk were still eagerly earning this indulgence by attending the *Salve regina* procession thirteen years after it had been granted.

The practice likely continued long after. A further entry in the indulgence record (undated, but probably from 1501 or 1503) records that Raymond Peraudi, Cardinal of Gurk and Papal Legate to Germany, offered

“at the antiphon *Salve regina* after compline, twenty days indulgence from their enjoined penance to all who are present [von der antiffen *Salve Regina* nach der Conplet alen den, die gegen wurtig sein, zweintzig tag ap las von jrn aufgesezten pußen].”⁸⁸ Our chosen year, 1516, is about fifteen years after this additional indulgence and only one short year before the indulgence controversy exploded around the Augustinian friar Martin Luther.⁸⁹ Were the townspeople of Nuremberg still eagerly donating candles for the *Salve* procession at the Dominican convent? Regardless of whether the sisters’ church was still as busy as it evidently had been in the 1480s, in 1516 there were still likely several people in the external church below looking to earn the cumulative sixty- to eighty-day indulgence by listening to the sisters’ procession after compline.

The sisters’ civic obligation to enable the local townsfolk to earn these indulgences influenced their processional choreography. Unlike the Castilian convents that have been studied by Mercedes Pérez Vidal, the Nuremberg sisters did not reroute their procession to another location in the cloister.⁹⁰ As described in the letters, the sisters processed out of their seats in the choir stalls into the open space in the middle of the choir, “each choir facing the other, in processional order, such that they stand right up against the forms [i.e., the front wall of the choir stalls], touching them with their backs [cor gegen cor, nach orden vnd processwis, also dz man gnauw sy an der form mit dem ruggen rúren].”⁹¹ The sisters sought to conform to the friars’ ritual through processional movement. Yet remaining within the choir meant that their voices continued to be audible to anyone in the external church below the sisters’ elevated choir.

The fuller description suggests that the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg made further adjustments with their audience in mind. Although the sisters stood in order of seniority as was customary, one variation in the processional order supported the musical quality of the performance. The chantresses and other sisters with strong singing voices were strategically placed in the center of the community so that everyone could hear them.

When the word *Salve* is begun, the sisters kneel in the stalls and then stand up again at the second word *Regina*. They step in front of the choir stalls, each choir facing the other, the young ones closer to the altar and the older ones up near the prioress. This also happens

in this way on the mother subprioress's side. And they stand in order, except that the chantress and her helpers stand in the middle of both sides in the procession, whether they are young or old, the ones with good voices who have been selected for this. When the collect is finished and the *Fidelium* has been said, the sisters bow in their places with their bodies turned towards the holy sacrament that they have in their choir, then they go back into the stalls.

So man dz wort *Salve* anfacht, so knúwend die swöstren in den stúlen nider vnd stond mit dem andren wort *Regina* wider vff vnd trettend fúr die stúl, kor gen cor, die jungen zú dem alter abhin, die eltren py der priorin hervff. Dz beschiecht by der muter superiorin och also. Vnd stond nach dem orden, vsgenomen die sengerin vnd ir helferin stond in der mitle paider siten in der process, sy sigind alt oder jung, die darzú mit guten stimen geordnet sind. Wenn die oratio end haut vnd *Fidelium* gesprochen ist, so naigend die swöstren sich an ir stat ain wenig mit dem lib zú dem hailgen saccrament, dz sy im cor habend, vnd gond wider in die stúl.⁹²

Evidently, despite the fact that this procession was performed every day, the convent administrators did not trust that everyone in the community could carry the tune on her own. It was important, however, for this chant to be performed well to impress the listeners outside. The Nuremberg sisters' inventive choreography met a mix of ceremonial and practical considerations by keeping the procession within the choir and by breaking processional order to ensure that strong singers carried the melody.

On the Eve of the Translation of Dominic in 1516, the *Salve regina* procession was extended. At some point during the Middle Ages, Dominican communities began singing the antiphon *O lumen ecclesiae* for Dominic as a recessional chant—that is, a chant sung while returning to the choir.⁹³ Pérez Vidal has found evidence for this practice in the Dominican convents of Santo Domingo in Toledo and Santo Domingo in Madrid.⁹⁴ In some places, antiphons for other saints of the order were also used; in Castile, the Dominican reform congregation centrally mandated that antiphons for Peter Martyr, Thomas Aquinas, and Vincent Ferrer be sung as recessional chants on various days of the week.⁹⁵ The sisters of St.

Katherine in Nuremberg did not participate in this practice and, aside from *O lumen* for Dominic, they only intensified the *Salve regina* procession by adding a second antiphon for Mary on Saturdays and on Marian feasts.⁹⁶ Incorporating a chant for Dominic into this traditional ritual of Marian invocation elevated Dominic's status as an intercessor.

The sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg did not use *O lumen* as a recessional chant; they did not have as far to go to return to their seats in the choir stalls as did their Castilian sisters. Nevertheless, they did sing *O lumen* after the *Salve regina* procession on Dominic's feasts and on Mondays as part of the lead-in for the weekly Tuesday observances for Dominic: "On Monday, they always sing *O lumen* for St. Dominic after the *Salve*, it is sung before the book. [Aber an dem mentag so singend sy alweg *O lumen* von s. Dominicus nach dem *Salve*, dz singt man for dem pũch.]"⁹⁷ The directoria confirm that they also observed this practice on the feast of Dominic's Translation.⁹⁸ On days when they sang *O lumen* at the end of compline, the sisters remained standing for this chant and even broke processional order further. Although they sang the chant almost every Monday, the sisters apparently did not memorize *O lumen*. An antiphoner containing its text and the musical notation was set out on a stand in the middle of the choir. Sisters were permitted to break rank to go sing the chant out of the book: "And at the antiphon after the *Salve*, one stands by the book and not in procession as for the *Salve*. [Vnd zũ der antiphon nach dem *Salve* stat man by dem buch vnd nit mit process als zũm *Salve*.]"⁹⁹ The provision of musical notation for the community at large testifies to the degree of musical literacy among these women. Once the antiphon and versicle had been sung, "the sisters return to their seats during the collect [gond die swöstren wider in die stũl vnder der oratio]."¹⁰⁰ Whether they processed in an orderly manner is unclear.

The sisters of St. Katherine knew that singing *O lumen* as part of the *Salve regina* procession was a conscious choice to honor Dominic beyond what the order prescribed. In their letters to the sisters of St. Gallen, the Nuremberg women explicitly flagged the practice as optional because it was not mandated by the order: "It is not of the order, therefore one does need to burden oneself with it. [Es ist nit von orden, darvmb tarf man sich nit damit beschwãr.]"¹⁰¹ The Nuremberg sisters pursued this practice in full

knowledge that it was not an official part of the order's liturgy and despite the fact that they had no practical need of recessional music.

The *Salve regina* procession after compline illustrates how the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg developed ritual variants in order to accommodate not only women's enclosure but also their own piety and the pious needs of the laity. Adding *O lumen* on the eve of Dominic's feasts expressed their devotion to the order's founding saint. Rather than processing elsewhere in the cloister, they left the choir stalls but remained gathered in the enclosed choir so that they could be heard in the external church. Listening to the sisters' voices drift out over the church and watching the flickering lights of their donated candles, the lay townsfolk earned the promised indulgences. Although facilitated by distant ecclesiastical figures such as the cardinal and papal legate Raymond Peraudi, the *Salve regina* procession at St. Katherine in Nuremberg served a mutually beneficial purpose in which the town supported the convent financially and the sisters supported the townsfolk spiritually. As Glenn Ehrstine has demonstrated for other early sixteenth-century German towns, "The funds generated by such indulgences did not line the pope's pockets but provided stability and security for the local community."¹⁰² Even this fairly brief ritual that was largely static throughout the year provided women an opportunity to strengthen their relationship to the surrounding city by tailoring the Dominican liturgy.

At the Close of the Day ... Before: Daytime Matins

The major local curiosity affecting the office hour of matins has already been discussed. Because it fell after Trinity Sunday in 1516, matins for the Translation of Dominic was sung in the evening instead of the middle of the night. Unfortunately, none of the sources I have located provide further details concerning how the transition from compline into daytime matins worked in practice. According to the Dominican constitutions, the hour of compline concluded with the sisters reciting the *Pater noster* and *Credo in deum*, and the hour of matins began with recitation of the same.¹⁰³ On feasts when daytime matins was observed, discipline after compline was always omitted, so, in theory, it was possible to merge the end of compline with the beginning of matins, rather than reciting the *Pater noster* and *Credo* twice

in a row. I have not found any sources that explicitly provide instructions either way.

Two details confirm that the Nuremberg sisters sang matins directly after compline without pause. First, the sacristan's manual stipulates changing the altar cloths after vespers instead of after compline, when daytime matins is held; there was no time between compline and matins to switch the liturgical textiles.¹⁰⁴ Second, the letters to St. Gallen explain that, when matins was sung in the evening, the chantress assigned strong and young singers to the first few lessons: "Item, when they sing matins after compline ... then young sisters, who are well-voiced, sing the first four or five lessons, and then afterwards the older ones, who have good voices, and the subprioress and prioress, as one finds indicated in the duty roster. [Item so sy metti singend nach complet ... so singend jung swöstren, die gestimt sind, die ersten vier oder 5 leczgen, vnd darnach die alten, die gestimpt sind, vnd supriorin vnd priorin, als man an der cortafel gezeichnet findt.]"¹⁰⁵ Examining the sample duty roster sent along with these letters, it is evident that the prioress or liturgical presider frequently recited the final lesson, and this was evidently no different for daytime matins.¹⁰⁶ Usually, however, the assignments did not consider natural talent, and all choir sisters were expected to take a turn. The attention to strong singers for the lessons at daytime matins—as opposed to when they sang matins in the middle of the night—suggests that the sisters sought to impress any stragglers in the external church after the *Salve regina* procession. In this way, the sisters adjusted their practice not only to the season but also to the local circumstances in which townsfolk might still be listening outside.

Nothing else about matins or lauds is remarkable. The documents from St. Katherine in Nuremberg confirm that they followed the order's rubrics for lengthening matins when the Translation of Dominic fell outside of Paschal Time. Namely, the single nocturn provided for the Translation of Dominic was integrated with material from Dominic's main feast (August 5) to produce three nocturns. All three of the convent's ordinaria contain the same solution proposed in the order's 1256 ordinarium. The directoria also stipulate the same procedure, albeit more concisely: "Whatever is lacking, when he is observed with nine lessons, is taken from his other feast, except that one does not sing 'alleluia' with the antiphons and responsories, and the three responsories from Paschal Time are used for the third, sixth, and

ninth, and one takes the lauds that starts with *Gemma*, and the hymn to his own melody. [Was aber zu wenig ist, wann man ix lecen von im helt, dz nynt man von seinen andern fest, dann dz man nit ‘alleluia’ singt zu den antiffen vnd Respons, vnd die iij Respons von dem oster zeit nynt man fur den dritten vnd vj vnd den neunten, vnd nynt dz laudes *Gema* [sic], vnd die ymnus sein eygen weiß.]”¹⁰⁷ If the Translation fell after Paschal Time and three nocturns’ worth of material was needed, then communities simply borrowed from Dominic’s main feast.

The office hour of lauds always followed directly on matins, almost certainly even when matins was sung in the evening after compline. The documents from St. Katherine in Nuremberg never mention lauds explicitly, suggesting that it remained firmly attached to matins, whenever matins was said. Circumstantial evidence from the early Dominican order corroborates this conclusion. In his *Lives of the Brethren*, Gerard of Frachet tells of a friar, who, “tired from the matins liturgy on the feast of St. Augustine, left the choir during lauds and went to sleep [fatigatus officio nocturnorum in festo beati Augustini exivit in laudibus de choro, et ivit dormitum].”¹⁰⁸ This detail indicates that, at least initially, lauds remained attached to matins, even when matins was moved to the evening before. Lacking similar anecdotal evidence from Nuremberg, we must assume that in all their detailed liturgical manuals the sisters would have mentioned it if they had done something different.

Lauds resembled vespers both ritually and textually and therefore also in the restrictions placed on women. The “lauds *Gemma*” antiphons were proper to Dominic’s Translation and, like the chants at vespers, alluded to the miraculous odor in keeping with the feast’s theme. As at vespers, communities of friars were censured at lauds, fulfilling in sensory experience the miracle portrayed in the chants. And, as at vespers, censuring was forbidden to the sisters. Memoriae could also be said at lauds, but none were said at this hour on the feast of the Translation of Dominic in 1516. Perhaps oddly, despite the fact that matins had continued directly from compline, the octave of Corpus Christi was formally over when compline concluded. No further memoria was required at the end of lauds.

Even for the office alone, most of the issues discussed in the previous chapters come into play: the liturgical change effected by the general chapter’s legislation, the ritual variations required by different seasons, the

difficulty of scheduling the Temporale and Sanctorale feasts around each other, the accommodation of local circumstances, and the impact of broad ecclesiastical prohibitions on the liturgical experience of Dominican sisters. The surviving manuals from St. Katherine in Nuremberg reveal how these sisters navigated all of these pressures and obligations. Working within the strictures imposed on them by canon law, by the Dominican order, and by the local parish, they expertly found creative solutions for liturgical performance.

At the conclusion of lauds, it was still the night of Thursday, May 29. Although the community of St. Katherine in Nuremberg had technically postponed the Translation of Dominic to the Friday after the octave of Corpus Christi, they had already sung the bulk of the office liturgy before Friday ever dawned. Yet, in addition to the little hours, another important ritual for Dominic's feast remained to be done on Friday: the mass.

Music and Intercession: The Mass

The calendrical, local, and legislative factors that I have emphasized throughout this book also influenced the coordination of mass for the Translation of Dominic. In 1516, this feast fell well outside of Paschal Time and—by Friday morning—outside of Corpus Christi's solemn octave, so the mass was identical to Dominic's August feast and its contents thus easily generated. However, numerous aspects of timing and performance were not sufficiently regulated by the order's centralized guidelines. The letters to the community of St. Katherine in St. Gallen recorded in painstaking detail how the Nuremberg sisters integrated mass into the flow of the little hours. The directorium dictated how to sing the music at mass, providing different instructions for performance with or without an organist. Finally, throughout the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century, the sisters transitioned out of mass and into the following office hour through a ritual invoking the Blessed Virgin that, to my knowledge, has never been studied. This practice had been instituted by the Dominican general chapter, but the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg adapted the ritual in a way that arrogated more spiritual power to themselves and their own prayers. The Nuremberg sources reveal how the sisters of St. Katherine capably

reconciled the order's rubrics and legislation with local circumstance and their own piety.

Fasting Fridays: Integrating Mass with the Little Hours

On the morning of Friday, May 30, 1516, the Nuremberg sisters likely rose for prime around six or seven o'clock, as was usual.¹⁰⁹ Having sung matins and lauds the evening before, only the little hours and mass for the Translation of Dominic remained for them to sing. Mass was considered an entirely separate genre of ceremony from the office hours, as it entailed a sacrament performed by an ordained priest, whereas the office consisted of communal prayer for which ordained men were not required. In practice, however, the celebration of mass was seamlessly integrated into the block of little hours (prime, terce, sext, and none). As mass transitioned directly out of one hour and into the next, the community remained gathered in the choir.¹¹⁰ Precisely which of the little hours sandwiched mass depended on daily circumstances. In particular, the fact that, in 1516, the Translation of Dominic had been postponed to a Friday affected when the sisters sang their morning liturgies and how they coordinated mass with their priest.

On normal days in the summer, the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg ate two meals, the first around nine o'clock.¹¹¹ However, Friday was a day of fasting throughout the entire year, with no exceptions made for special feasts or days of celebration. On Fridays, Dominican communities were only permitted one meal, which they ate after the little hour of none.¹¹² The Nuremberg sisters scheduled this meal for around eleven.¹¹³ The letters indicate that they tried to time it so that they finished an office hour and went directly to the meal. However, "if they finish too early, as it so happens that one cannot always time it precisely, then the prioress always delays the bell and the entrance [to the refectory] until it is just about eleven by our clock [haut man aber zů frúg vsagesungen, als man dz nit alweg als genaw getreffen kan, so paitet doch die priorin mit dem tischlúten vnd ingon alweg bis dz es alweg fúrderlich 11 ist nach únsere or]."¹¹⁴ The sisters' morning schedule on Fridays was oriented toward fulfilling their obligations, including mass, so that none was done right when it came time to have their one meal of the day.

The letters provide a standard schedule for Friday mornings, in which both mass and chapter were interspersed with the little hours: “Item, on Friday, when one holds chapter after prime, when it is over, if it is time, then the sacristan rings two signals with the choir bell for terce. After terce, they sing mass, and after that, sext and none. [Item an dem fritag, so man capitel halt nach prim vnd so dz end hat, ist es denn zit, so lút die kustrin 2 zaichen mit der corgloggen zú der tertz. Nach der tertz singend sy dz ampt der mess, darnach sext vnd non.]”¹¹⁵ Postponing the morning meal to eleven o’clock on fasting days freed up some time on summer Fridays, which the Nuremberg sisters normally used to hold the chapter of faults after prime.¹¹⁶ They seem to have devised this practice themselves. Although both the friars’ and the sisters’ constitutions implied that the chapter of faults should be held every day, nobody followed this rule in the fifteenth century, not even the Observants.¹¹⁷ The reform ordinances that Master General Bartholomew Texier imposed on St. Katherine in 1429 required them to hold a chapter of faults once or twice a week, but he did not stipulate which day.¹¹⁸ Holding the chapter of faults on Fridays was, as far as I can tell, the women’s own decision to use their time efficiently.

However, they would not have held the chapter of faults on this Friday in 1516. The chapter of faults was a penitential ritual and thus conceptually inappropriate for joyful *totum duplex* feasts, although nothing in the Dominican legislation dictated this explicitly. In Nuremberg, the sisters—again, apparently wholly on their own initiative—shifted the chapter of faults to a different day if a *totum duplex* feast fell on Friday.¹¹⁹ Although they rescheduled chapter, they nevertheless fasted (also a penitential act) when an important feast fell on Friday, “since it is clearly written in the constitutions, that we should fast every Friday [won dz stat doch luterlich geschriben in der constitucion, dz wir all fritag söllend fasten].”¹²⁰ Since, in 1516, they celebrated the *totum duplex* feast of Dominic’s Translation on Friday, May 30, they likely postponed the chapter of faults to Saturday. (It is extremely unlikely that they held it early, during Corpus Christi’s solemn octave.) In the rules about holding the chapter of faults, the Nuremberg sisters developed their own regulations in keeping with the spirit of the order’s constitutions.

This period between prime and terce, while free from communal liturgical performance, was not entirely free time for the convent

administrators.¹²¹ The description of the daily schedule states specifically that, when this time was not occupied by a chapter meeting, the sisters who held administrative offices attended to their responsibilities.¹²² Some sisters needed to use this break between prime and terce to prepare for the communal mass. In particular, the sacristan was responsible for selecting the vestments for the celebrant (the priest conducting the mass) and delivering them to the church warden.¹²³ The section of the letters discussing the chapter meeting provided instructions for convent officers who needed to leave in order to attend to business. It is thus likely that the sacristan prepared for mass during this time, even when the chapter meeting was being held.¹²⁴

The sacristan was also responsible for ringing the bells that announced mass. Usually on Fridays, mass was between terce and sext, but the timing of mass was flexible day-to-day. If the office hours were progressing quickly, the letters suggest that the sacristan could decide on the fly to squeeze vespers in before the meal, as well, in which case mass was sung after none.¹²⁵ Whichever hour mass would follow, the sacristan rang the bells for mass while the community recited the first or second psalm.¹²⁶ This signal was not for the benefit of the sisters already gathered in the choir but rather for any lay sisters who were working while the choir sisters sang the office, for the townsfolk who wished to attend mass in the convent church, and for the celebrant and his assistants who prepared themselves for mass while the sisters finished the office hour.

The community's practical adaptability means that we should not rely too heavily on statements of ideal practice, such as that cited from Thomas Aquinas in [Chapter 1](#), that mass was after terce on feast days, after sext on ferial days, and after none on fast days. On the one hand, in 1516, when the Translation of Dominic was held on a Friday, it was both a feast day and a fast day, so both rules could not be followed. The Nuremberg sisters devised their own rules to supplement the order's insufficient guidelines. On the other hand, communities of women always had to adjust to the priest and his schedule. However, the priest also had to adapt to the sisters. The directorium records that, in 1516, the Nuremberg friars celebrated the Translation of Dominic on a different day than the sisters did. One of the friars must have come to sing mass in the convent church. What did he think about celebrating this feast's mass on a different day from his own

community? Did he celebrate mass for the Translation of Dominic twice that year?

The Organ's Wordless Song: Performing the Music for Mass

In their performance of the mass music, the Nuremberg sisters again integrated standard practice with local color, participating in a widespread but unregulated enhancement. These performance issues pertain to the chants sung between the epistle and gospel readings. In 1516, when the Translation of Dominic fell after Corpus Christi and thus well outside of Paschal Time, mass was identical to that of Dominic's main feast.¹²⁷ Instead of two *Alleluias* as was called for during Paschal Time, Dominican communities sang the gradual *Os justi* and an *Alleluia* with Dominic's verse *Pie pater*, before singing Dominic's sequence, *In caelesti hierarchia*. The directoria and the letters from St. Katherine in Nuremberg provide performance instructions for singing the gradual, the *Alleluia*, and the sequence. In the case of the gradual and *Alleluia*, these directions conform to the standard Dominican Rite. In contrast, the instructions for the sequence differ according to occasion and incorporate the potential presence of an organist.

Both the *Alleluia* and the gradual were technically responsorial chants with verses, but the ordinarium stipulated that the gradual's respond was not repeated. Dominicans also curtailed the repetition of the *Alleluia* when it was followed by a sequence. As one of the Nuremberg convent's ordinaria explains:

One should never re-intone or repeat the gradual, nor the first *Alleluia* during Paschal Time, even when two sing the gradual. After two intone it, the choir completes it. But the choir begins the *Alleluia* again and sings all the notes before the verse, even after the repetition, unless one is singing a sequence. In that case, one should not sing the notes after the "alleluia," instead it is restarted up to the first two stops that stand next to each other, then one starts the sequence right away.

Man sol dz gradual nymmer wider an vahlen noch wider nemen,
noch dz erst alleluia in dem oster zeit, auch so zwu das gradual

singen. So es zwu anvahent, so sol es der kor volenden. Aber der kor vahet das alleluia wider an vnd singent die noten alle vor dem vers auß vnd auch nach der repeticio, es sey denn das man ein sequencz sing. So sol man dy noten nach dem “alleluia” nit singen, sonder so es wider angefangen wirt vntz an die ersten zwu pausen, die bey einander stand, so vahet man pald die sequencz an.¹²⁸

Alleluias had a long melisma, a series of wordless notes, which in manuscripts was set off graphically from the notes over the actual word “alleluia” by two vertical strokes, resembling modern bar lines (i.e., “the first two stops that stand next to each other”). If there was no sequence, the entire “alleluia,” including the melisma, was sung again; if there was a sequence, the choir stopped after the word “alleluia” had been repeated and proceeded directly to the sequence. This latter option was the practice followed on the Translation of Dominic, as it was a totum duplex feast and Dominic’s sequence, *In caelesti hierarchia*, was sung.

Late sequences are a poetic genre of chant similar to hymns. However, whereas hymns have the same melody and poetic form for all strophes, sequences are musically through-composed with paired strophes. The German-language sources from Nuremberg call the strophes of a sequence “verses.” I adopt this term in the following to reduce confusion when quoting the medieval texts. In a late sequence, verses 1 and 2 have the same poetic structure for their texts and share the same melody. Verses 3 and 4 share a different melody, verses 5 and 6 yet a different one, and so on, yielding the musical form AaBbCcDd.¹²⁹ This structure with melodically paired verses invites creative performance practices, and various sources from Nuremberg explain how the sisters handled sequences in different situations.

Margareta Karteuserin’s *Temporale directorium* provides two options, which were used by the friars in Colmar. (The mention of the Colmar friars signals that this information came from Schönensteinbach.) They sang sequences differently at the weekly masses for Dominic (Tuesday) and the Blessed Virgin (Saturday) than they did for major feasts: “Item, in Colmar, this is what they do with the sequences on Saturday for the Blessed Virgin and for St. Dominic on Tuesday. The choir whose turn it is that week sings one verse, and the other choir sings the second verse, and so on. But when it

is a special feast, two brothers sing one verse in front of the pulpit in the middle of the choir, the whole community sings the second verse. [Item ze colmar tut man also mit den sequencien an dem samstag von vnßer liben frauen vnd von sant dominico an dem zistag. So singet der Cor, da die woch ist, einen vers, vnd der ander Cor den andern vers, vnd also aus. So es aber sunder hohczit sint, so singent zwen brüder einen vers vor dem pulpit in medio chori, der gantz Cor den andern vers.]”¹³⁰ On Tuesdays and Saturdays, the Colmar friars sang the sequence antiphonally. The two halves of the community swapped verses with one side of the choir singing the first, the opposite side singing the second, and so on. Since the paired verses shared a melody, this meant that the second half of the choir repeated the melody sung by the first. On major feasts, however, two soloist friars at a pulpit in the middle of the choir modeled each new melody, which the rest of the community then sang to the text of the next verse.

In the Nuremberg manuscript, this passage is marked *vacat* [delete] in the margin because, as their letters to St. Gallen explain, the sisters of St. Katherine sang the Tuesday sequence in unison: “And when the *Alleluia* is finished, they sing the last four verses in the sequence from his own feast. And the sister, who begins mass, intones the two words *Laudes ergo*, and then the community finishes the verses out, such that they are not sung antiphonally. [Vnd so dz *Alleluya* gesungen ist, so singend sy die lesten 4 vers in der sequens von siner aignen hochzit. Vnd die swöster, die die mess anfacht, facht die 2 wort an *Laudes ergo*, vnd denn volfürdt der confent die vers all hinvs, dz man sy nit wandelich singt.]”¹³¹ The sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg, like the Observant Colmar friars, complied with the Schism legislation of the Roman Obedience by singing the last four verses of Dominic’s sequence at Tuesday mass. Unlike the Colmar friars, however, the Nuremberg sisters performed Dominic’s sequence in full unison as though it were a hymn. This deviation reveals a flexible attitude toward the friars’ practice, which the sisters evidently took as an example and not a rule.

On major feasts, they did sing sequences as the Colmar friars did, with two soloists modeling each melody. None of the sources from St. Katherine in Nuremberg ever states this as a straightforward rule. Nevertheless, the instructions for sequences with odd numbers of verses describe an alternation between two soloists and the whole community that matches the

Colmar description. The two sequences in question (*Sancti spiritus adsit nobis* and *Ave praeclara maris stella*) are unusual in that the melody of the first verse is unique. It stands alone, while verses 2 and 3 are paired, 4 and 5 are paired, and so on. This orphaned first verse required some kind of solution so that the expected alternation could begin when the melodically paired verses began at verse 2.

Both entries prescribe the same solution and, more interesting, both entries were also altered in the same way at some later point. Initially, for both *Sancti spiritus* and *Ave praeclara*, two soloists sang the entire first verse alone. The community then repeated the entire first verse, melody and text, before the soloists sang the second verse, the community the third, and so on, with the usual sequence alternation. Both of the entries were altered so that the first verse was sung only once. The amendments are clear in the entry for *Ave praeclara*; the words in parentheses are later annotations in a different hand: “One should sing it in this way. The two who model it should sing the first ~~verse~~ (two words), and the whole community ~~also~~ sings the first verse (to the end), and then the two sing the second verse and the community the third and further in this way. Because of the melody, one does the sequence this way. [Man sol sie in diser wise singen. Die zwo, die sie vor singend, die sond den ersten ~~vers~~ (ij wort) singen, vnd der gancz kor singet denn ~~och~~ den selben ersten vers (auss), vnd denn singend die zwo den andren vers vnd der kor den tritten vnd also anhin. Von der wise wegen tut man mit diser sequencien also.]”¹³² The subtle insertion of a couple interlinear words radically changed the stipulated performance practice. Instead of singing the whole first verse, the soloists only intoned the incipit. Instead of repeating the entire first verse, the community simply finished what the soloists had intoned.

It is not clear why the Nuremberg sisters changed their method for singing these sequences. Perhaps as the community grew more confident in its Observant lifestyle, the chantresses expected a higher degree of musical ability from the sisters, and they no longer needed to hear the whole melody of that first verse before singing it themselves. The model duty rosters produced in Nuremberg corroborate the practice described here. They consistently instruct that the chantress should assign two sisters to sequences as the verse leaders.¹³³ The letters to St. Gallen likewise explain: “Two sisters model the sequence, singing one verse, and then the

community also sings a verse, up to the end. [Item die sequens singent 2 swöstren vor, ainen vers, vnd denn der conuent och ainen vers, als lang bis zû dem eend.]”¹³⁴ These same letters, however, include a caveat attached to the model duty roster that radically changed the character of the sequence performance.

At some point in the fifteenth century, the convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg acquired an organ. The organist took on the role of providing the melodies for the community to repeat: “Item, they have an organ, so they do not write [assignments for] sequences. One plays a verse for them, and then the choir sings the second verse. And when the organ is played for them, then the entire choir or community always sings the one verse and not the half choir and then the other half choir. [Item sy habend ain orgel, dz sy nit sequentzen schribend. Man schlecht in ainen vers, so singt der cor den andren vers. Vnd wenn man in vff der orgel schlecht, so singt alweg der gancz cor oder convent den ainen vers vnd nit der halb cor vnd aber der halb cor.]”¹³⁵ When the organist was there to model the melodies, they nevertheless did not sing the sequence antiphonally with the right choir and the left choir alternating verses in the same way that psalms were sung. Instead, the organ evidently completely took over the odd-numbered verses, such that the text for those verses was not sung at all, and the entire community sang the even-numbered verses to the melody that the organist played for them. This practice was common in the fifteenth century, but it came under criticism in the sixteenth century and eventually fell out of use, precisely because it meant that half the text of a sequence performed in this way was never articulated.¹³⁶

The organist was not always there, however, and another passage from the letters explaining how to handle the sequence *Sancti spiritus adsit nobis* provided instructions for the two sisters who served as verse leaders if the organist [*der orgelist*] was not available.¹³⁷ The gender of the noun explains why the organist might not always be there: The organist was male, and the organ was located outside the sisters’ enclosure. The diary entry for the Translation of Dominic in 1516 does not comment on whether the organist was present for that feast. Did the chantress assign soloists to sing Dominic’s sequence, *In caelesti hierarchia*, in alternation with the community? Or did the organist play those verses such that those words were never sung? Either way, the Nuremberg chantresses trained their

community to perform this sequence, or parts of it, in at least three different ways depending on whether it was a Tuesday or a major feast and whether the organist showed up.

The Schism, the Ottomans, and Marian Intercession: The *Recordare* Invocation

Every day, after mass ended, the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg performed a ritual that the community clearly treasured. As a ceremonial transition from mass into the following office hour, the sisters sang the offertory antiphon *Recordare virgo*, together with two versicles and collects that implored the Blessed Virgin's aid. This practice was instituted by the Dominican general chapter and was, in theory, at least temporarily required for all communities of the order. The Nuremberg sources reveal that the sisters of St. Katherine transformed this mandate into a civic obligation that tied them to the lay townsfolk in a way similar to the *Salve regina* procession after compline.

The Dominican general chapter at Metz in 1421 initiated the practice, not through the three-year process of legislative change but instead by bypassing this legislative process in an *ordinatio*, an ordinance. As Gert Melville has shown, ordinances were one of the technical means by which the general chapter could respond to time-sensitive issues with mandates that did not have the force of constitutions.¹³⁸ And time-sensitive this issue was, indeed. Whereas the *Salve regina* originated in the demonic possession of a Bologna friar, the *Recordare* ritual was a response to the Hussite Wars (1419–34), in which the armies of the Roman church had suffered crushing defeats in the summer of 1420. Just before the Dominican general chapter deliberated its post-Schism legislation at Metz in May 1421, the imperial princes and cities convened an imperial diet (*Reichstag*) in Nuremberg in April 1421 to begin organizing another military campaign against the Hussites in Bohemia.¹³⁹

Through an immediately effective ordinance, the Dominican general chapter pledged all communities of the order to pray for divine intervention in this crusade against the Hussites. The chants and prayers they stipulated did not otherwise belong to a coherent liturgical set. Instead, they were

cherry-picked for their textual content, which invoked God's and Mary's protection against armies, enemies, and adversity.

Item, we desire and ordain, in order to invoke God's mercy against the heretics and schismatics, who because of the sins of men attack the status of the church, that each community of our order and convent of sisters during the communal mass, after the *Pater noster* and before the *Pax domini* is said, should devoutly sing the antiphon *Recordare* or *Sub tuum praesidium* with the versicle *Ora pro nobis* etc. and the collects *Protege, domine* and *Ecclesiae tuae* etc.

Item. Volumus et ordinamus ad impetrandam dei clemenciam contra hereticos et scismaticos, qui propter peccata hominum ecclesie statum multipliciter persequuntur, quod in quolibet nostri ordinis conventu et monasteriis sororum in missa conventuali post *Pater noster*, et antequam dicatur *Pax domini*, cantetur devocius antiphona *Recordare* vel *Sub tuum presidium* cum versu *Ora pro nobis* etc. et oracionibus *Protege, domine* et *Ecclesie tue* etc.¹⁴⁰

Placed within the mass, this invocation presents quite a striking intercession, not least because the ritual action that occurred between the *Pater noster* and the *Pax domini* was the fraction (breaking) of the Eucharistic host.¹⁴¹ Inserting these invocatory prayers over the fraction of the Eucharist formed a symbolic connection between the broken body of Christ and the church broken by the events at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Although the primary motivation for this intercessory ritual was ostensibly the crusade against the Hussites, the reference to "schismatics" in the general chapter's ordinance calls to mind that, in 1421, the Dominican general chapter was only two-thirds of the way through the process of healing the order from the Great Western Schism by reconciling divergent legislation. At least some of the men designing this ritual invocation must have remembered that, although the Hussites were the heretics now, they had considered each other schismatics not too long ago. The communities in Nuremberg evidently complied with the general chapter's ordinance. Indeed, their city had just hosted an imperial diet serving as a war council and, with Prague a mere three hundred kilometers away, the Hussite crusade was at their doorstep.

The Dominican communities of Nuremberg apparently continued the practice in some form for years, although the political circumstances to which the practice responded changed significantly.¹⁴² The sisters of St. Katherine were still observing this invocatory ritual twenty years later, when Anton of Rotenhan, Prince-Bishop of Bamberg, granted them an indulgence for the practice on October 22, 1444. In the text of the indulgence, he acknowledged that, for many years, “at the command of your superiors [von dem gepot Ewr obersten]” the sisters had been singing the offertory antiphon *Recordare virgo mater* “every day after your mass [altag nach dem Ampt Ewr meß].”¹⁴³ Now, with the Ottoman threat rising in the Balkans, in order to encourage their zeal in these prayers on behalf of the church, the bishop granted forty days’ indulgence of enjoined penance not only to the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg but also “to all the faithful of Christ, who have stood with devotion in the church while it is being sung and have also said seven *Ave Marias* [allen gelawbigen christi, die mit andacht gestanden sind in der kirchen zu der zeit so das gesungen wirt vnd Auch siben *Aue Maria* gesprochen haben].”¹⁴⁴ The sisters’ prayers came too late, for less than three weeks later, the Polish and Hungarian crusade forces suffered resounding defeat against the Ottoman army at the Battle of Varna.¹⁴⁵ This event and those of the following years only rendered the *Recordare* invocation more urgent, as the Ottoman Empire expanded, capturing Constantinople in 1453.¹⁴⁶

The indulgences severed the *Recordare* invocation of the Nuremberg Dominicans from its origin within the order. In the letters they sent to St. Gallen, the Nuremberg sisters made explicit that both they and the Nuremberg friars observed the *Recordare* at mass, not because it had been imposed by the general chapter but rather because they had been granted indulgences for it: “They have a special indulgence for it, which was given to them and to the Friars Preachers, it is not because of the order. If one does not have such an indulgence for it, one should not burden oneself in this way with such a song. [Sy habend sundren aplas darvon, den man in vnd den vätern den predigern darzû geben haut, es ist nit von ordens wegen. Ob man nit sölichen aplas darzû haut, sol man sich nit lich mit sölichem gesang beschwären.]”¹⁴⁷ The indulgences moreover transformed the *Recordare* ritual’s crusading purpose. Whereas the Dominican order had instituted it in 1421 as a response to the Hussite crusades, Bishop Anton of

Rotenhan's 1444 indulgence recontextualized the practice in relation to the growing Ottoman threat. Finally, as we saw with the *Salve regina* procession, granting the indulgence to laypeople listening in the external church transformed the practice from a Dominican votive observance into a public obligation.

Also like the indulgences for the *Salve regina* procession, the practice continued to be encouraged by successive bishops. Peter of Schaumberg, Cardinal of St. Vitalis and Bishop of Augsburg, granted the convent one hundred days' indulgence in 1467.¹⁴⁸ Marco Barbo, Cardinal of San Marco and papal legate to Germany, granted the community an additional forty days in 1474.¹⁴⁹ Finally, the early sixteenth-century indulgence granted by Raymond Peraudi for the *Salve regina* also mentions the *Recordare*, albeit as a marginal insertion.¹⁵⁰ Regardless of whether Raymond Peraudi truly intended to include the *Recordare* at mass in his indulgence, the marginal insertion in this very late entry indicates that the sisters still practiced the ritual invocation into the sixteenth century.

The letters that the Nuremberg sisters sent to St. Gallen include a detailed description of how the community integrated the *Recordare* invocation into the course of the day, notably not during mass as originally stipulated. This description from the 1480s reveals two differences in the Nuremberg sisters' ritual from that described in the acts of the Dominican general chapter in 1421. First, there is an extra versicle that is not listed in those acts. Second, rather than inserting the prayers between the *Pater noster* and the *Pax domini* at mass, the sisters waited until the entire mass had been completed and then used the *Recordare* invocation as a transition into sext.

And once the day's mass is done, the chantress whose choir is leading the music immediately intones the *Recordare* alone, whether or not it is a feast, and sings the first word. And from the first word up until the versicle they ring the bell, and then they stop and sing *Ora pro nobis, sancta dei genitrix, and Esto nobis etc., Domine exaudi etc., the collects Protege and Ecclesiae tuae, domine, preces placatus etc.* Then the prioress switches over to the *Pater noster* for sext.

Vnd so die tagmess vs ist, zůstund vacht die sengerin, in welem cor dz gesang ist, dz *Recordare* an nun allain, es sig vest oder nit, dz erst wort. Vnd man lút von disem anfang bis zů dem versikel vnd hört denn vf vnd singt *Ora pro nobis, sancta dei genitrix, Esto nobis etc., Domine exaudi etc.*, oratio *Protege vnd Ecclesie tue, domine, preces placatus etc.* Darnach schlacht die priorin vf zů dem *Pater noster* zů der sext.¹⁵¹

The additional versicle, *Esto nobis, domine, turris fortitudinis* [Lord, be for us a tower of fortitude], is a multipurpose intercessory text used, for example, as part of the litany recited at a sister's deathbed.¹⁵² Its text fits perfectly with the intercessory tone of the other texts. It is not certain whether the Nuremberg sisters introduced it themselves or whether it was part of the general chapter's original ordinance and omitted from the edited acts by error.

In contrast, the difference in ritual timing is clearly an intentional deviation from the general chapter's 1421 ordinance. Holding the intercessory *Recordare* after the conclusion of mass, rather than saying it over the fraction of the Eucharist, freed the community from reliance on the priest who presided over mass. As I discussed in the context of the mass collects in [Chapter 4](#), during mass, prayers were the prerogative of the celebrant. However, once the *Ite missa est* had been said, his role was over and the sisters resumed leadership over liturgical rituals. By postponing the *Recordare* invocation until after the conclusion of mass, what the sisters lost in symbolic connection to the fraction, they gained in ritual independence and engagement. Moreover, the townspeople present in the church below thereby earned their indulgences truly through the women's ritual agency, rather than through the celebrant performing mass in the sisters' church. Singing the *Recordare*, the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg reached beyond their enclosure not only through the sound of their voices. They extended their intercessory power, first, to the Nuremberg townsfolk piously seeking indulgences and, second, to all of Christendom as they invoked the Blessed Virgin's aid against the Ottoman Empire.

How the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg celebrated mass on the Translation of Dominic in 1516 was influenced by the factors described in the earlier chapters of this book: the variable seasons of the year, the

restrictions on women's liturgy, the general chapter's new legislation, and the adjustments to local circumstance. To be sure, many of these factors manifested as external pressures. How Dominican sisters responded to these demands remained largely in their hands. Their decisions are visible in significant changes, such as the displacement of the *Recordare* to be performed after, rather than during, mass. Yet their expertise also appears in smaller, seemingly less significant passages, such as the exhaustive instructions about when to ring the bells for mass in a confounding variety of different circumstances. The liturgical manuals surviving from St. Katherine in Nuremberg reveal the expertise of medieval religious women navigating the complexities and faults of the Dominican liturgical system.

Conclusion: Sisters Fixing the Dominican Liturgy

The feast of the Translation of Dominic, as the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg likely celebrated it in 1516, illustrates how they used the manuals they compiled to supplement the standard Dominican ordinarium. Indeed, they even adjusted the ordinarium itself. The German ordinarium translations composed by friars had already adapted the Dominican Rite to women's liturgy. The Nuremberg sisters went one step further when making their own copy of the Zurich translation, integrating local Nuremberg customs into the entry on daytime matins (*Tagesmetten*), as we have seen. Similarly, they adapted the Observant directoria that Sister Margareta Karteuserin had brought them from Schönensteinbach. Their interventions in the directoria not only accommodate the circumstances of Nuremberg and the constant legislation of the Dominican general chapter; they also reflect the women's own practices as they changed over time, such as their way of singing sequences.

The sisters of St. Katherine further supplemented their liturgical manuals with separate volumes that treated various liturgical duties with confident expertise. The table-reading manuals designated a schedule of devotional readings drawn from the specific books available in the convent library. The sacristan's manual provided guidelines that coordinated the specific art objects owned by the community and the complex time-keeping methods within and outside their walls. The indulgence record tracked the rewards for specific liturgical observances, not just as benefits for the sisters

but also as obligations to pious townsfolk. Finally, in the letters that they sent to St. Gallen, the sisters of St. Katherine came into their own as liturgical experts. The St. Gallen prioress, Angela Varnbühlerin, initiated the epistolary exchange in the first place because the Nuremberg sisters had a widespread reputation as experts in convent life.¹⁵³ The contents of the letters reveal the broad knowledge base and clear reasoning the Nuremberg sisters applied to coordinate and perform their liturgy.

Using these sources to reconstruct the Translation of Dominic transforms many of the factors identified as problems in the earlier chapters into opportunities. Granted, the changes introduced by the general chapters were not always conscientiously recorded and sometimes produced internal contradictions in the ordinarium. However, these innovations responded to shifts in popular piety, allowing the order to address the devotional interests of the laity as they changed over the course of the late Middle Ages. Indeed, the Latin ordinarium owned by St. Katherine in Nuremberg records that the order granted a solemn octave to the feast of Corpus Christi in 1481 “on account of the people’s devotion, the acquisition of indulgences, and the conformity of parish churches to others [ob populi deuocionem, jndulgentiarum obtencionem, et cetteris ecclesiarum parochialium conformitatem].”¹⁵⁴ The advantages of attuning the liturgy to devotional trends is also evident from the continued performance of the *Recordare* invocation into the early sixteenth century. This intercessory ritual proved adaptable as the fifteenth-century crusades shifted enemies.

Still, the restrictions placed on women’s ritual action often significantly impoverished their liturgical experience. Especially for the Translation of Dominic, whose liturgical texts focus overwhelmingly on the miraculous odor wafting from his open tomb, the prohibition against women handling incense removed a rich layer of sensual meaning from the feast. Nevertheless, aesthetic enrichment of liturgical ritual was not wholly closed to women. The embroidered altar cloths, the candles, and the image of Dominic visually ornamented the ceremony for the Translation of Dominic in the Nuremberg sisters’ choir. The passages instructing strong singers to stand in the middle of the choir or in front of the book reveal an attention to the quality of the sisters’ musical performance and, by the end of the fifteenth century, their singing was further embellished by the sound of the organ.

Coordinating the liturgy anew every year, Dominican sisters expertly negotiated the norms of their governing documents, the order's evolving legislation, the gendered systems of opportunity and restriction, the changing cultures of late medieval piety, their physical objects and spaces, and even—seen broadly—the historical circumstances of the Great Western Schism and the fifteenth-century crusades against the Hussites and the Ottoman Empire. The flexibility and mutability of the Dominican Rite doubtlessly made it complex for medieval convent administrators to coordinate. These features certainly still make it difficult for modern scholars to reconstruct, especially when lacking a collection of sources as rich and complete as that from St. Katherine in Nuremberg. However, these very characteristics also made the medieval Dominican liturgy a vibrant, engaging, and dynamic performance. The Dominican sisters singing invisibly in their enclosed choir were not disconnected from the world below. Far from it, they were fulfilling public, civic obligations to provide indulgences, while performing their connection to Dominican identity through ritual acts that they themselves determined and planned.

CONCLUSION

Departing from the codification of the Dominican liturgy in 1256–59 and tracing its evolution into the early sixteenth century, this book has constructed a new narrative of the medieval Dominican liturgy. First, the Dominican liturgy was embedded in Dominican structures of governance. Both the Augustinian rule and the Dominican constitutions included articles that bore on ritual practice. Changes to the liturgy were enacted through the same mechanism as changes to the constitutions: triple ratification of the order's legislature, the general chapter. Second, change over time introduced additional complexity and diversity into a system that had been quite complex from the beginning. This growing complexity necessitated attempts to fix the liturgy, in both senses of the word. Dominicans sought to secure their practices in writing by maintaining ordinarius manuscripts and by producing new supplementary manuals, the directoria. They also attempted to repair difficulties through widespread reforms or through local workarounds that reveal just how regionally variable the Dominican liturgy was. Third, although only the friars were authorized to alter the Dominican liturgical system by changing the centralized ordinarius, the liturgies of women's houses were also part of that system. We can only understand the Dominican liturgical system as a whole when we consider both friars and sisters. Fourth, the fortuitous survival of detailed manuals from women's communities gives us special insight into the shifting complexity of the Dominican liturgy at the end of the Middle Ages. These documents deserve broad attention, since—although issues such as enclosure and the prohibition on altar service uniquely affected women—many of the difficulties that women worked out on their pages affected the friars, as well. Women's records provide insight not only into women's concerns but

also into aspects of practice that everyone in the order, friars and sisters alike, needed to manage.

A final example illustrates these points and takes us to the end of our story. In 1546, the Dominican general chapter held in Rome ratified a number of confirmations concerning the order's liturgy. The most consequential item was the addition of a further weekly observance. In addition to Sundays, the Saturday observances for the Blessed Virgin (expanded by the general chapter in 1354), and the Tuesday observances for Dominic (introduced by the general chapter in 1364), the general chapter of 1546 mandated "that on Thursday, if it is free of even three lesson feasts, the office should be held for the most holy body of Christ, where it is not the custom to celebrate some other office [quod in feria quinta, cum vacat etiam a festo trium lectionum, fiat officium de sanctissimo corpore Christi, ubi non consuevit de alio officio celebrari]."¹ The Dominican general chapter exercised its authority as the order's legislative body to bring the order's weekly cycle of worship into step with evolving Christian piety. All communities of the order, both friars and sisters, were now authorized or obligated (depending on their perspective) to venerate the Holy Sacrament in a manner similar to the weekly observances for Dominic and the Blessed Virgin. Two hundred years after those practices had been introduced, the Dominican general chapter used the same legislative mechanism to modify the liturgy throughout the order again.

In doing so, the general chapter introduced yet another element that communities needed to reconcile with the multiple overlapping cycles of the Temporale and Sanctorale calendars, adding complexity to an already perplexingly intricate system. After 1546, three ferial days each week—Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday—were occupied by votive observances rather than by the cyclic Temporale material, as had been instituted when the Dominican Rite was codified in 1256–59. The 1546 legislation stipulated that even the low-rank three-lesson feasts took precedence over these Thursday observances for the Holy Sacrament, so the new weekly liturgy should not have created new scheduling conflicts with the Sanctorale. However, this change did suppress another swath of scriptural matins lessons, whose year-long cycle, described in [Chapter 1](#), had been continuously undermined over the previous three hundred years. Alterations to Dominican liturgical practice, even when the general chapter sought to

limit their scope, had rippling repercussions for the interlocking systems of medieval liturgy.

Once the general chapter had confirmed this measure in the third and final ratification, the decision was disseminated. All houses of the order needed to record the new mandate in the manuscripts they used to regulate and plan communal ritual. Evidence of compliance survives in a directorium from St. Katherine in Nuremberg, in which one of the sisters dutifully inserted the general chapter's 1546 legislation. The annotator clearly marked the new information—twice—as legislation ratified by the Dominican general chapter, even identifying the year and location correctly. She also astutely compared the new weekly liturgy to the existing observances for Dominic on Tuesday and for Mary on Saturday. This anonymous Nuremberg convent administrator fixed in writing the new ritual requirements so that, enshrined in the community's liturgical manuals, the practice would be observed henceforth.

However, her expanded note calls attention to the fact that the wording as recorded in the centralized acts of the general chapter provided insufficient guidelines for actually implementing the new weekly observance. While transferring the general chapter's legislation into her community's manuals, this Nuremberg sister (and her fellow administrators in all men's and women's houses) needed to fix the inadequate instructions. Her entry ([Figure 9](#)) introduces the practical information that was lacking and subtly adjusts the scheduling instructions regarding conflicting three-lesson feasts.

Item, in the general chapter that was held in Rome in 1546, it was mandated that on Thursdays the Holy Sacrament should be observed with three lessons, just as one observes St. Dominic on Tuesday throughout the year and Our Dear Lady on Saturday.... Item, in the general chapter that was held in Rome in 1546, it was mandated to celebrate the Holy Sacrament on Thursday. On Wednesday at vespers, one begins with the capitulum. The antiphon over the *Magnificat* is *O sacrum*. At matins, the invitatory is *Christus [sic] panem angelorum et hominum venite adoremus*. Over the psalms, the first antiphon, the last responsories, and over the *Benedictus* the antiphon for the octave. If a saint of three lessons falls on Thursday,

and there are no more free days on which he can be celebrated, then he should be celebrated on Thursday and the Holy Sacrament should be skipped.

Jtem, jn dem general capittel zu Rom gehalten ist jm 46 jar, ist ver ordent, das man auf pfincztagen von dem heyligen sacrament 3 lecen sol halten, gleich wie man durch das jar am Eritag von sant dominico vnd am samstag von vnser lieben frawen helt.... Jtem, jn dem general capittel zu Rom gehalten ist jm 46 jar, ist ver Ordent, von dem heilligen sacrament am pfinctag zu begen. Am mitwoch zu fesper focht mans zum capitel an. Die antifen vbers *mangnificat O sacrum*. Zu de metten das uitatorium *xps [sic] panem angelorum et hominum venite adoremus*. Vber psalm die erst antifen, die leczten Responß, vber *benedicts* die antifen von der octava. Wen Ein heilig gefelt mit iij lecen auf den pfincztag, der kein ledigen tag mer hat dar an man jn mocht gen, so sol man jn auf den pfincztag gen vnd das heilig sacrament vnter wegen losen.²

It is not certain whether the Nuremberg sisters devised this solution themselves or whether it was passed on to them along with the legislation, but this entry supplements the general chapter's mandate with practical instructions. Such rubrics were necessary for a community to put the new observance into practice, but the acts of the general chapter failed to provide this practical information. Each community, both friars and sisters, needed to fix this deficiency in the centralized legislation in order to comply with the order-wide mandate. Moreover, this entry adjusts the prescribed method of scheduling to accord a higher status to the Thursday observance for the Holy Sacrament. The general chapter mandated that even three-lesson feasts took precedence over the Holy Sacrament, which was skipped for the week if a conflict occurred. In contrast, the Nuremberg directorium allows three-lesson feasts to be rescheduled off of Thursday, if that is possible, so that both the Holy Sacrament and the saint might be celebrated.³

These rubrics for the new weekly observance encapsulate crucial features of the medieval Dominican liturgy that are often overlooked. The Dominican Rite may have seen a uniform beginning, but the general

chapter's valiant attempts to retain legislative control faltered in the face of poor dissemination, local variants, and the sheer complexity of the liturgical system's multiple overlapping cycles. Dominican sisters capably and expertly handled the complexities and contradictions of late medieval liturgy in their directoria and other manuals, which open a window into the task of liturgical coordination throughout the Dominican order at the close of the Middle Ages.

Dominican Liturgy and the Protestant Reformation

These conscientiously recorded instructions demonstrate that, in 1546, the Dominican sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg still strove to observe their order's liturgy in compliance with the governing documents and the general chapter's legislation. These sisters were still scheduling the Temporale and Sanctorale feasts around the weekly cycles of votive observances for the Virgin Mary, for Saint Dominic, and now for the Holy Sacrament. They were still recording advice for coordination of chants and texts in their directoria. They were still maintaining their liturgical manuals by registering the continuous decisions of the Dominican general chapter and adapting their practices to the ever-changing liturgical legislation.

But who told them about this particular legislation in 1546? The acts of the general chapter in that year do not list any representatives from the province of Teutonia as having been in attendance in Rome. Johannes Pesselius of Tiel, Teutonia's provincial prior from 1545 until his death in 1558, is attested at the 1545 Diet of Worms.⁴ His name does not appear in the protocols of the Imperial Diet at Regensburg in the following year, but did he perhaps miss the 1546 Dominican general chapter in order to participate in the religious disputes against the Lutherans?⁵ No members of the Nuremberg friary could have transmitted this information to the sisters. The local friary had been largely dysfunctional since March 1525, when the Lutheran party won the Nuremberg religious dispute and the city council forbade celebration of Catholic mass. When the Nuremberg city council finally formally dissolved the Dominican friary in 1543, most of the remaining stragglers had long since converted to Lutheranism.⁶ When this directorium entry was made in 1546, traditional mass and the Dominican Rite had been forbidden in Nuremberg for two decades.⁷ Since 1537, the

sisters had been locked out of their own sacred space for refusing to listen to Lutheran preachers or conform to the 1533 Brandenburg-Nuremberg form of worship (*Kirchenordnung*).⁸ Yet they somehow still obtained information about their order's liturgical legislation and, fixing their minds on the Dominican liturgy, continued to fix their directorium with the latest legislation.

Similar conditions prevailed in Dominican convents throughout the German regions, as sisters stubbornly clung to their rituals, their way of life, and their liturgical coordination. A city chronicle records that, after the Protestant city council of Augsburg forbade the celebration of Catholic mass in 1534, the sisters of St. Katherine in Augsburg continued to sing the musical chants of the Dominican mass, despite having no priests to consecrate the Eucharist.⁹ Similarly, at Katharinental in Diessenhofen, the sisters sang the mass chants, pausing between the *Sanctus* and the *Agnus dei* to hold space for the Eucharist that was no longer there.¹⁰ In 1547, 1559, and 1570, the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg sent pleas to successive emperors and empresses of the Holy Roman Empire, requesting that they intercede with the Nuremberg city council. Each effort failed, and Nuremberg never restored the convent's right to observe the Dominican liturgy in their choir.¹¹

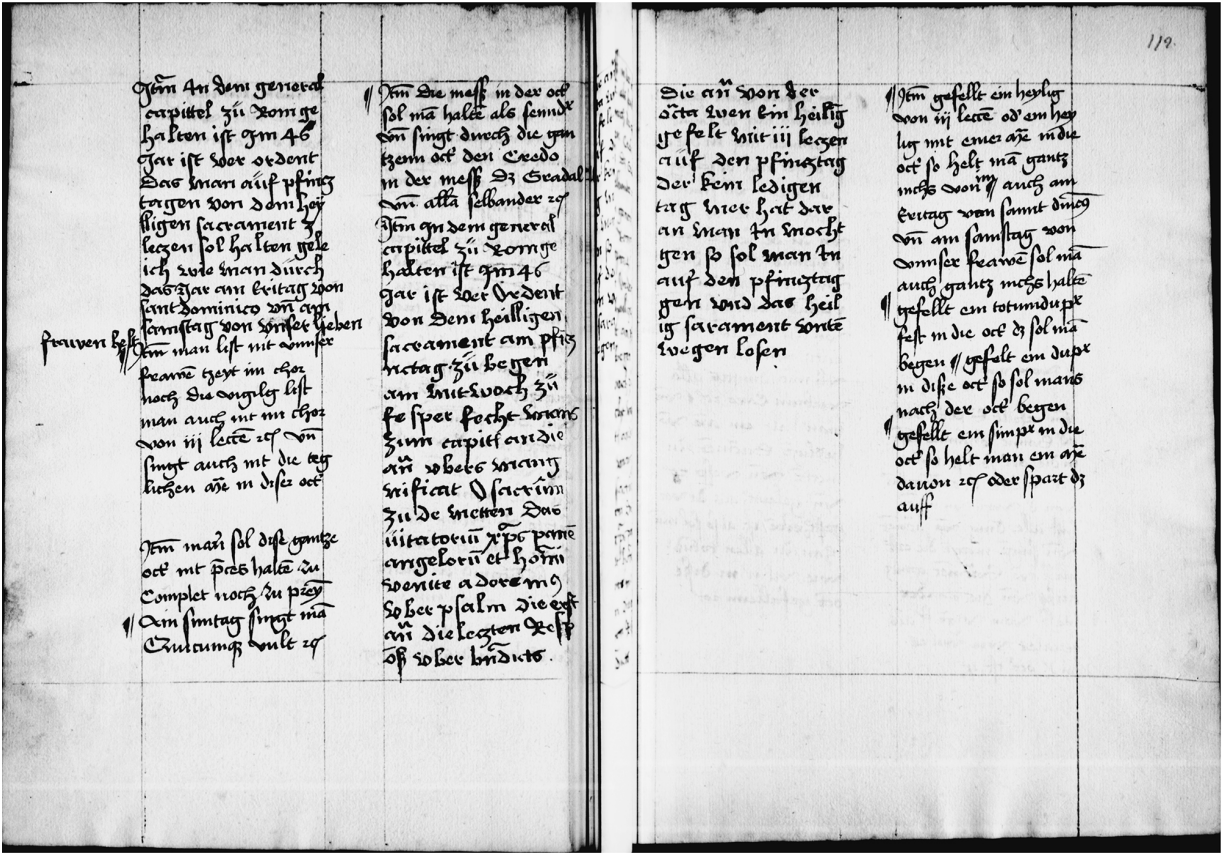


Figure 9. The 1546 entry for the general chapter's decision to celebrate the office for the Holy Sacrament every Thursday, found in the anonymous 1484 directorium from St. Katherine in Nuremberg. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i, f. 111v; (facing page) f. 112r.

Nevertheless, they persisted. The last dated entry in the Nuremberg directorium, from 1562, concerns scheduling the Sunday matins material after Epiphany in a year when Easter fell early and the time before Septuagesima was short.¹² An entry in the Weiler directorium, bearing the date 1565, records not only how they rescheduled the feast of Thomas Aquinas, which fell on Ash Wednesday that year, but also that the sisters of nearby Steinheim handled it differently.¹³ The directorium manuscripts from German Dominican convents attest to a remarkable continuity of women's liturgical expertise. These sisters were carefully planning their liturgies and navigating the complex cycles of feasts according to long-standing Dominican practice well into the era of the Reformation.

When the last sisters of Nuremberg and Weiler died in the 1590s, the Protestant magistrates seized their libraries and deposited their books in the

collections where they remain today.¹⁴ Other convents likewise succumbed to various pressures in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, merged with other communities, or sold their books.¹⁵ St. Katherine in Augsburg was finally dissolved in the wave of secularization following the 1803 Imperial Recess (*Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*).¹⁶ In Freiburg im Breisgau, all three Dominican convents plus the tertiary community were merged into a single institution by 1786. This so-called new convent survived the Imperial Recess because the sisters ran a school, but it too was finally dissolved in 1867.¹⁷ The convent of Heilig Kreuz in Regensburg has survived continuously in the same location since it was founded in 1233, but the sisters sold most of their medieval books and precious objects during a time of financial stress in the nineteenth century.¹⁸ The convent of St. Katherine in St. Gallen, never formally incorporated into the Dominican order, survived as a community despite being driven out of its city. Of all the Dominican convents from which liturgical manuals survive, only these sisters, now located in the Swiss town of Wil, still own the directorium that their foremothers copied from a Nuremberg exemplar.¹⁹

Medieval Liturgy, Religious Selfhood, and Women's Expertise

The directoria from Dominican convents display a tenacity among the sisters maintaining their order's liturgy in the face of Protestant reformers. These southern German Dominican sisters were not alone. In the sixteenth century, women across the Holy Roman Empire resisted Lutheran churchmen and Protestant-leaning secular authorities who sought to halt not only the traditional Catholic mass but also observance of the canonical hours in communities of religious women. As Marjorie Plummer has recently shown, the Lutheran justifications for these interventions were much more theologically profound than the old cliché that women didn't understand the Latin they sang. In particular, Lutheran polemicists railed against the *Salve regina* and other Marian antiphons as idolatrous and unbiblical.²⁰ The new worship practices that Protestant reformers sought to impose on convents constituted a reeducation initiative. Evangelical rituals were intended to habituate the new evangelical doctrine, converting women to Lutheranism not through sermons but through their bodies. In forcing

religious women to change their liturgy, Protestants attacked community identity and self-conception.²¹ While claiming that Latin liturgy was an empty parroting, Lutheran authorities acted on the knowledge that religious women actively constructed their confessional identity and exercised spiritual agency through liturgical performance.

Seen in this light, when we approach the administrative complexity of late medieval liturgy as a cumbersome impediment to spiritual immediacy and fulfillment, we accept the rhetoric of sixteenth-century Protestant reformers over a ritual fact that everyone at the time knew, regardless of whether they articulated it. This attitude is (ironically) revealed in Maura O'Carroll's droll comment that "the minutiae of this process could and sometimes did defeat the very purpose of liturgy."²² What, indeed, was "the very purpose of liturgy" to late medieval Dominicans, and did ritual scrupulosity defeat it? Medieval Dominicans understood that, just as much as glorification of God, liturgy served the purpose of spiritual formation, and correct performance was crucial to this project.

As Innocent Smith observes, even preeminent theologians such as Humbert of Romans and Thomas Aquinas espoused the view that embodied ritual inculcated true piety.²³ The Dominican general chapter argued minute points of practice, such as who should wear shoes at the Adoration of the Cross, because every small ritual gesture bore theological meaning. It was therefore important to perform the liturgy correctly because (as the Protestant reformers also understood) ritual not only communicated but also entrained spiritual outlook.²⁴ Moreover, many southern German Dominicans viewed the purpose of liturgy as a mystical approach to self-formation through obedience and abnegation.²⁵ Individual submission to community ritual cleared the ground (that is, the mystical ground of the soul) for spiritual transcendence. The "minutiae" of the liturgical planning process were thus important both for their theological content and for the spiritual state inculcated by the mere act of communal devotion and obedience.²⁶ The Dominican friars and sisters who devoted their time, energy, and intellectual effort to coordinating liturgical performance in compliance with the legislation of the order, the demands of the local diocese, and the obligations of local piety thus facilitated their own and their community's spiritual formation.

Correct ritual was key to cultivating proper religious selfhood, but—as I have demonstrated throughout this book—late medieval liturgy was so complex and occasionally even incoherent that blind and passive rote performance of “correct ritual” was simply not possible. By necessity, the cantors and chantresses coordinating their community’s liturgy exercised active intention, creativity, and independent judgment to choreograph a coherent performance from the order’s complex rubrics. The convoluted nature of late medieval liturgy presents an opportunity to expand the ways in which we understand medieval women’s agency.

Traditional feminist scholarship struggled to conceptualize the agency of women who zealously pursued ways of life that modern Western culture frames as oppressive and anti-individual. But as Saba Mahmood argues, “Agentival capacity is entailed not only in those acts that resist norms but also in the multiple ways in which one *inhabits* norms.”²⁷ Many premodern women exercised agency through fervent pursuit of valued norms. We need a way to appreciate or at least to respect the cultural activity of women such as the Observant reformers, who strove to uphold restrictive religious and legislative systems.

Furthermore, premodern women commonly negotiated multiple vying systems of power. Religious women’s resistance to Lutheran reforms exemplifies the conceptual paradoxes produced by competing power structures. Do we celebrate the women who cast off the shackles of medieval religion and fled the prison of the convent to enter the confines of Protestant wifehood?²⁸ Or do we praise the rebellious nuns who defied Lutheran authorities as they continued to wear their habits and sing their traditional liturgy? Who was resisting and who was submitting? Our conceptions of women’s agency must be broad enough to encompass the multitude of factors, influences, and environments that premodern women navigated.

This more capacious sense of women’s agency has motivated my approach throughout this book, as I have emphasized the *expertise* required to coordinate medieval Dominican liturgy, rather than to create new works and compositions. The evidence from the German-language manuals that I examine in [Chapters 5](#) and [6](#) provides enough fodder for arguments about the agency and independence Dominican sisters exercised in the fifteenth century, outside of but also even within the restrictive Observant reform

movement. These documents also supply ample evidence for a sphere of female authority, especially since reforming women transmitted the Observant directoria to other communities, providing a female-authored resource on right practice. However, focusing first and only on women's creative independence and the agency attested by the directoria divorces them from the context within which these manuals were produced. If the acts of the general chapter did not survive to contextualize these sources, many directorium entries would appear to be evidence for the Dominican sisters' inventiveness, rather than for their compliance. The Dominican liturgical manuals compiled by women helped them navigate a complex system of regulations that they were deeply committed to observing, and their zealous adherence to the order's legislation is also a form of agency. Grounding investigation of women's activity within its broader context does not diminish an argument for women's agency but rather nuances our understanding and opens space for the multiplicity of ways in which women made choices about their lives and devotions.

The survival of the German-language directoria opens a small window into a complex task that vexed thousands of administrators in religious communities across Europe throughout the Middle Ages. Most of these people never became authorities on the liturgy in any enduring sense, not like Sister Margareta Karteuserin whose name we can still attach to the directoria she compiled to reform the liturgy at St. Katherine in Nuremberg. Yet many of these anonymous cantors and chantresses—maybe even most—developed an extensive knowledge base, an integrated understanding of relevant factors, and appropriate sets of practical skills that permitted them to discharge their task competently. The fortuitous survival of these documents from southern German Dominican convents reveals the experience and expertise of these cantors and chantresses whose labors of liturgical coordination fixed the Dominican liturgy for their communities.

Medieval Dominican Liturgy in Historical Perspective

The documents I have examined in this book articulate the kinds of expertise that liturgical administrators developed to fix the increasing difficulties with the Dominican liturgy. The Dominican Rite to which German sisters clung in the sixteenth century was far more complex than

the rite that had been propagated in 1256–59. Even in the beginning, coordinating the liturgy entailed reconciling disparate elements. As described in [Chapter 1](#), the Temporale cycle of feasts celebrating Christ’s life shaped the emotional course of the liturgical year with its penitential periods culminating in the joys of Christmas and Easter. The Sanctorale cycle of saints’ feasts needed to be scheduled around the Temporale according to a complex set of rules depending on the rank of each feast. Moreover, Paschal Time entailed a sweeping change in the structure of all feasts and ferial days between Easter and Trinity Sunday. Feasts like the Translation of Dominic, which fell in the month-long window that might or might not be within Paschal Time, required flexible options depending on where they fell in relation to the Temporale seasons in a given year. Merely assembling the calendar each year demanded expertise and critical reasoning.

When the Dominican order instituted a centralized liturgy, the general chapter sought to enforce uniformity by mandating the use of exemplar manuscripts for the careful correction of newly produced copies. But over the centuries, the Dominican general chapter legislated innumerable changes, large and small. As I showed in [Chapter 3](#), the ordinarium in the liturgical exemplars was never updated, and even ordinarium manuscripts seeing practical use were not consistently maintained. By the fifteenth century, even a rigorously updated ordinarium presented numerous problems. On the one hand, the general chapter’s legislation did not always attend to the broader repercussions of its innovations, producing inconsistencies that were never formally resolved. On the other hand, during the Western Schism, the general chapters of the Avignonese and Roman Obediences had passed legislation independently of each other, destroying the order’s pretensions to liturgical uniformity. Fixing the liturgy—whether within one community or throughout the order—required broad expertise, careful attention, and fine-grained intervention.

Moreover, as discussed in [Chapter 4](#), Dominican sisters encountered the additional difficulty that the order had never issued a standardized ordinarium tailored to women’s circumstances, as it had for the rule and constitutions. Even if Dominican sisters did obtain a fully updated and accurate ordinarium, they could not perform all of the rituals contained in it, some because women could not be ordained and some because convent

enclosure did not permit them to enter the outer church. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, friars sought to provide Dominican sisters with accessible liturgical guidelines suited for their use. No fewer than five German translations of the Dominican ordinarium circulated in southern German-speaking regions, yet each displays a different degree of expertise in and attention to women's circumstances. Their often-inadequate interventions in important rituals, such as the *Salve regina* procession after compline, forced Dominican sisters to devise their own liturgical solutions.

Beginning in Schönensteinbach, the first Observant convent north of the Alps, Dominican sisters fixed the inadequate liturgical rubrics by compiling supplementary guidelines into the directoria, which I explored in [Chapter 5](#). From the 1420s on, reforming women fixed their liturgy by disseminating the directoria as part of the book transfer that accompanied each reform. In this way, women's liturgical expertise spread throughout the German-speaking south. However, a deeper liturgical issue continued to plague convent administrators. Throughout the fifteenth century, the order continued to add saints' feasts, elevate their rank, and change rules for scheduling. Dominican sisters used the directoria to get a fix on permissible regional observances and the complex rotations of the liturgical year, keeping diaries to establish precedent for particularly knotty conflicts. In the early sixteenth century, non-Observant Dominican sisters also fixed their in-house practices in writing in order to protect their institutional traditions.

By the late fifteenth century, liturgical administrators in southern German convents drew on an interconnected set of regulations and manuals that fixed Dominican liturgical practice. As discussed in [Chapter 2](#), the constitutions mandated when to say the Little Hours of the Virgin, which prayers began each office hour, and which days were fast days. The ordinarium prescribed the chants, rituals, and basic scheduling guidelines that constituted the uniform liturgy of the Dominican Rite. The directoria supplemented the ordinarium with local observances, clarifications, and further scheduling guidelines. The rich survivals from St. Katherine in Nuremberg contain a rare set of additional documents on which I drew in [Chapter 6](#): the sacristan's manual, the table-reading manuals, the indulgence manual, and the letters they sent to St. Gallen. These sources illuminate just how local Dominican liturgical performance was and just how much the

Dominican Rite had changed in the two hundred years since 1256. This plethora of imperfectly interlocking guidelines produced difficulties for the chantresses endeavoring to coordinate their community's ritual life, but they also provided the tools these sisters used in the enterprise of fixing the liturgy.

This book has not exhausted the potential of these liturgical sources, and many others remain to be explored. The fifteenth-century Latin-language manuals from the northern German Lüne convents have so far attracted the greatest amount of scholarly attention with excellent studies, for example, by Alison Altstatt, Philipp Stenzig, and Henrike Lähnemann.²⁹ Still, vernacular documents remain a largely untapped source for exploring liturgical practice in late medieval religious communities. Beyond the *ordinaria* and *directoria*, many more Dominican manuals survive, such as the rubrics for death and burial recently studied and edited by Andrea Osten-Hoschek.³⁰ Vernacular manuals were also produced for other orders and even for men's use, such as the sacristan's manuals for the Nuremberg parish churches of St. Lorenz and St. Sebald mentioned in [Chapter 6](#).³¹ The phenomenon was not limited to German: vernacular liturgical manuals survive in Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Anglo-Norman.³² With *Fixing the Liturgy*, I invite others also to fix their attention on the admittedly complex yet fascinating systems of late medieval liturgy.

APPENDIX 1

Calendars

Temporale Calendar

Advent

Advent Sunday 1	Sunday closest to St. Andrew (November 30)
Advent Sunday 2	
Advent Sunday 3	
Advent Ember Days	Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after Third Sunday in Advent
Advent Sunday 4	

Christmastide

Christmas Eve	December 24
Christmas	December 25
Feast of the Circumcision	January 1
Epiphany	January 6
Octave of Epiphany	January 13

Ordinary Time

<i>Domine ne in ira</i> Sunday	Sunday after Octave of Epiphany
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Septuagesima

Septuagesima	<i>Circumdede runt</i> Sunday	9th Sunday before Easter (January 18–February 22)
Sexagesima	<i>Exsurge</i> Sunday	8th Sunday before Easter
Quinquagesima	<i>Esto mihi</i> Sunday	7th Sunday before Easter

Lent

Ash Wednesday		Wednesday before Quadragesima
Quadragesima	<i>Invocavit</i> Sunday	6th Sunday before Easter
Lent Ember Days		Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after Quadragesima
2nd Sunday in Quadragesima	<i>Reminiscere</i> Sunday	5th Sunday before Easter

Temporale Calendar

3rd Sunday in Quadragesima	<i>Oculi</i> Sunday	4th Sunday before Easter
4th Sunday in Quadragesima	<i>Laetare</i> Sunday	3rd Sunday before Easter
<i>Passiontide</i>		
Passion Sunday	<i>Judica</i> Sunday	2 Sundays before Easter
<i>Holy Week</i>		
Palm Sunday	One week before Easter	
Maundy Thursday	Thursday before Easter	
Good Friday	Friday before Easter	
Holy Saturday	Day before Easter	
<i>Paschal Time/Eastertide</i>		
Easter		(March 22–April 25)
Octave of Easter	<i>Quasimodo</i> Sunday or <i>Dominica in albis</i>	1 week after Easter
Feast of the Lance and Nails (regional)		Friday after Easter octave
	<i>Misericordia</i> Sunday	1 week after Easter octave
	<i>Jubilate</i> Sunday	2 weeks after Easter octave
	<i>Cantate</i> Sunday	3 weeks after Easter octave
	<i>Vocem jucunditatis</i> Sunday	4 weeks after Easter octave
Minor rogation	Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday	4 weeks after Easter octave
Feast of the Ascension	Thursday	4 weeks after Easter octave
Sunday within the octave of Ascension	<i>Exaudi</i> Sunday	5 weeks after Easter octave
Octave of Ascension	Thursday	5 weeks after Easter octave
Pentecost	Sunday	6 weeks after Easter octave
Pentecost Ember Days	Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after Pentecost	
Trinity Sunday		7 weeks after Easter octave (May 17–June 20)
<i>Ordinary Time</i>		
Corpus Christi	Thursday after Trinity	7 weeks after Easter octave (May 21–June 24)
First Sunday after Trinity	<i>Deus omnium</i> Sunday	8 weeks after Easter octave
Octave of Corpus Christi	Thursday	8 weeks after Easter octave
	<i>In principio</i> Sunday	First Sunday in August
	<i>Si bona</i> Sunday	First Sunday in September
	<i>Peto</i> Sunday	Third Sunday in September

Temporale Calendar

Autumn Ember Days	Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14)
<i>Adaperiat</i> Sunday	First Sunday in October
<i>Vidi dominum</i> Sunday	First Sunday in November

Sanctorale Calendar

The Sanctorale calendar is compiled from the c. 1260 Dominican exemplar manuscript London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 81r–82r; Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter perg. 78 (St. Agnes in Strasbourg, 1533); Munich, BSB, clm 2904 (Altenhohenau, Bavaria, late fifteenth century), clm 28836 (Bamberg diocese, late fifteenth century), clm 30088 (provenance unclear, late fifteenth century), and clm 30324 (Nuremberg, late fifteenth century); and the ordinaria and directoria studied in this book. Some of the calendars are quite idiosyncratic, especially clm 30088. Where I have not been able to determine a motivation or regional devotion, I have simply entered the manuscript in which the feast appears.

I have not included the rank of the feasts in the calendar. The Dominican order changed the rank of many feasts over the centuries. Integrating not only new and regional feasts but also changes in rank would have made the table unwieldy. (Interested readers can seek the changes in rank of individual saints' feasts in the acts of the general chapter.) Furthermore, convents with special devotion to certain saints celebrated them at a higher rank than was common throughout the order. Unusual ranks given to common feasts can also provide information about provenance and date of the calendar.

For example, in the January calendar page reproduced as [figure 1](#), four feasts have the rank of totum duplex, which do not appear with that rank in the c. 1260 exemplar (London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 81r). The general chapter elevated Vincent Martyr from semiduplex to totum duplex in 1348 (Reichert, *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:322), after two failed attempts to elevate his feast to duplex earlier in the fourteenth century. Anthony, originally assigned three lessons, was elevated to totum duplex by the general chapter of the Roman Obedience in 1410 (Reichert, *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:135). In contrast, Agnes's main feast and Agnes *secundo* never changed in rank from simplex and three lessons, respectively. However, the community of St. Agnes and St. Margaret in Strasbourg, which owned the manuscript, was permitted to celebrate Agnes's feasts at the rank of totum duplex because she was one of the convent's patrons. Because of Agnes's importance to the community, they also celebrated the Translation of Thomas Aquinas a day later than everyone else. When the Dominican order added Aquinas's Translation to the calendar in 1371, the general chapter stipulated that he be celebrated on January 28 and Agnes *secundo* should be bumped back to January 29 (Reichert, *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:412). The sisters of St. Agnes pushed Aquinas back a day instead. Details such as these not only help date and locate calendars but also provide insight into the devotional profile of the communities that used them.

No calendar in any manuscript looks like what is produced here; this calendar is much busier than any I have seen. First, it indicates Dominican feasts, including many that were added over the centuries and when. Where two years are given, the first is the date of the confirmation during the Great Western Schism and the second is the date of the post-reunification legislation. In the case of the Conception/Sanctification of Mary, the first date represents its confirmation in the Avignonese Obedience and the second in the Roman Obedience. Readers should keep in mind that the dates given represent the final confirmation; the official process of adding a saint to the order's calendar started at least three years before the date given here, and many communities likely included the saint

in local veneration long before that. Second, this calendar also includes the saints important for the Dominican convents in southern Germany but which were never officially celebrated throughout the order. Some of these saints are superregional in southern Germany, but some help locate the calendars more closely. As it is derived from a limited selection of representative manuscripts, this table cannot exhaustively include each saint's geographic reach; readers interested in regional dissemination should consult the entries for individual saints and the regional calendars in H. Grotefend's *Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, which may be found online at bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/gaeste/grotefend/heilige.htm (accessed 5 August 2023).

Notes: Many of the calendars I consulted list Margaret on a variety of other days earlier in July, often on July 15 or 16, and some lack her feast altogether. Some other saints also occasionally appear in calendars on the day before or after their official date, when that date is occupied by something else. The directoria from St. Katherine in Nuremberg clearly state that the Translation of Katherine of Alexandria is on the same day as Peter Martyr (Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 69, f. 77r), but the placement of the feast in the directorium from St. Katherine in Augsburg suggests that they celebrated it in late March. Neither of these dates matches anything offered in Grotefend's catalog of saints, so I have not entered a March date for Katherine's Translation.

January

				1256?	Year added?	Local veneration
1	A	Kalends	Circumcision	x		
2	B	4	Octave of Stephen	x		
3	C	3	Octave of John the Evangelist	x		
4	D	2	Octave of the Holy Innocents	x		
5	E	Nones				
6	F	8	Epiphany	x		
7	G	7				
8	A	6	Erhard			regional
9	B	5				
10	C	4	Paul the Hermit	x		
11	D	3				
12	E	2				
13	F	Ides	Octave of Epiphany; Hilary and Remigius	x		
14	G	19	Felix	x		
15	A	18	Maurus	x		
16	B	17	Marcellus	x		
17	C	16	Anthony	x		
18	D	15	Prisca	x		
19	E	14				
20	F	13	Fabian and Sebastian	x		
21	G	12	Agnes	x		
22	A	11	Vincent Martyr	x		
23	B	10	Emerentiana	x		
24	C	9				
25	D	8	Conversion of Paul	x		

January

26	E	7				
27	F	6	Julian	x		
28	G	5	Agnes <i>secundo</i> ; Translation of Thomas Aquinas; Charlemagne	Agnes: x (later moved)	Aquinas: 1371	Charlemagne: Zurich
29	A	4	Agnes <i>secundo</i>		moved 1371	
30	B	3				
31	C	2	Translation of Mark the Evangelist			St. Marx Strasbourg; clm 30088

February

				1256?	Year added?	Local veneration
1	D	Kalends	Ignatius	x		
2	E	4	Candlemas (Purification)	x		
3	F	3	Blaise (<i>Blasius</i>)	x		
4	G	2	Anniversary of Fathers and Mothers	x		
5	A	Nones	Agatha	x		
6	B	8	Vaast and Amand (<i>Vedastus et Amandus</i>); Dorothy	Vaast and Amand: x		Dorothy: widespread in fifteenth century
7	C	7	Dorothy; Richard of Wessex			Dorothy: variant; Richard: Engelthal (Eichstätt diocese) clm 28836
8	D	6	Helena			
9	E	5	Apollonia		1498	
10	F	4	Scholastica	x		
11	G	3				
12	A	2				
13	B	Ides				
14	C	16	Valentine	x		
15	D	15				
16	E	14	Juliana			Strasbourg
17	F	13				
18	G	12				
19	A	11				
20	B	10				
21	C	9				
22	D	8	Chair of Peter (<i>Cathedra Petri</i>)	x		

February

23	E	7			
24	F	6	Matthias	x	
25	G	5	Walburga		regional to German southeast
26	A	4			
27	B	3			
28	C	2			

March

				<i>1256?</i>	<i>Year added?</i>	<i>Local veneration</i>
1	D	Kalends	Albinus	x		
2	E	6				
3	F	5	Empress Kunigunde			Bamberg & Nuremberg
4	G	4	Adrian			Strasbourg (regional)
5	A	3				
6	B	2	Fridolin			Strasbourg (regional)
7	C	Nones	Thomas Aquinas		1326	
8	D	8				
9	E	7				
10	F	6				
11	G	5				
12	A	4	Gregory	x		
13	B	3				
14	C	2	Octave of Thomas Aquinas		1332	
15	D	Ides	Longinus			clm 30088
16	E	17				
17	F	16	Gertrude of Nivelles; Patrick			Gertrude: regional; Patrick: clm 30088
18	G	15	Anselm			clm 30088
19	A	14	Joseph; Translation of Mary Magdalene			Joseph: regional in fifteenth century; Magdalene: clm 30088
20	B	13				
21	C	12	Benedict	x		
22	D	11				
23	E	10				
24	F	9				
25	G	8	Annunciation	x		
26	A	7				
27	B	6	Rupert			Salzburg
28	C	5				
29	D	4				

March

30	E	3	Quirinus; Simon of Trent	Quirinus: clm 28836; Simon: clm 30088
31	F	2		

April

				<i>1256?</i>	<i>Year added?</i>	<i>Local veneration</i>
1	G	Kalends	Mary of Egypt			clm 30088
2	A	4				
3	B	3				
4	C	2	Ambrose	x		
5	D	Nones	Vincent Ferrer		1456	
6	E	8				
7	F	7				
8	G	6				
9	A	5				
10	B	4				
11	C	3				
12	D	2	Octave of Vincent Ferrer		1456	
13	E	Ides				
14	F	18	Tiburtius, Valerian, and Maximus	x		
15	G	17				
16	A	16				
17	B	15				
18	C	14				
19	D	13				
20	E	12				
21	F	11				
22	G	10				
23	A	9	George	x		
24	B	8	Adalbert		1355	
25	C	7	Mark the Evangelist	x		
26	D	6				
27	E	5				
28	F	4	Vitalis	x		
29	G	3	Peter Martyr (OP)	x		
30	A	2				

May

First Sunday in May: Catherine of Siena (added 1462)

May

First Sunday in May: Catherine of Siena (added 1462)

				1256?	Year added?	Local veneration
1	B	Kalends	Philip and James (<i>Philippus et Jacobus</i>)	x		
2	C	6	Sigismund; Translation of Elisabeth of Hungary; Antoninus of Florence		Antoninus: 1524	Sigismund: Salzburg; Elisabeth: St. Peter perg. 78
3	D	5	Invention of the Cross; Alexander, Eventius, and Theodulus	x		
4	E	4	Crown of Thorns	x		
5	F	3	Octave of Peter Martyr		1266	
6	G	2	John Before the Latin Gate (<i>Johannes ante portam latinam</i>)	x		
7	A	Nones	Translation of Peter Martyr		1410	
8	B	8	Apparition of Michael		1423	
9	C	7				
10	D	6	Gordian and Epimachus	x		
11	E	5				
12	F	4	Nereus, Achilleus, and Pancras	x		
13	G	3	Servatius		1332	
14	A	2				
15	B	Ides				
16	C	17				
17	D	16				
18	E	15				
19	F	14	Pudentiana (<i>Potentiana</i>)	x		
20	G	13	Bernardino of Siena			St. Peter perg. 78, clm 30088
21	A	12				
22	B	11				
23	C	10				
24	D	9	Translation of Dominic	x		
25	E	8	Urban	x		
26	F	7				
27	G	6				
28	A	5	Translation of Bridget of Sweden (<i>Birgitta</i>)			Schönensteinbach
29	B	4				
30	C	3				
31	D	2	Petronilla	x		

June

				1256?	Year added?	Local veneration
1	E	Kalends	Nicomedes			St. Peter perg. 78
2	F	4	Marcellinus and Peter	x		
3	G	3	Erasmus			regional
4	A	2				
5	B	Nones				
6	C	8				
7	D	7				
8	E	6	Medard	x		
9	F	5	Primus and Felician	x		
10	G	4	Onuphrius (<i>Onofrius</i>)			Augsburg
11	A	3	Barnabas	x		
12	B	2	Basilides, Cyrinus, Nabor, and Nazarius	x		
13	C	Ides	Anthony of Padua		1262	
14	D	18				
15	E	17	Vitus and Modestus	x		
16	F	16	Cyricus (<i>Quiricus</i>) and Julitta; Martial	Cyricus and Julitta: x	Martial: 1336	
17	G	15				
18	A	14	Mark and Marcellian	x		
19	B	13	Gervase and Protase (<i>Gervasius et Protasius</i>)	x		
20	C	12				
21	D	11	Alban			Strasbourg (regional)
22	E	10	Ten Thousand Martyrs (<i>Decem milium martirum</i>)		1423	
23	F	9				
24	G	8	Nativity of John the Baptist	x		
25	A	7				
26	B	6	John and Paul	x		
27	C	5				
28	D	4	Leo	x		
29	E	3	Peter and Paul	x		
30	F	2	Commemoration of Paul	x		

July

				1256?	Year added?	Local veneration
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July

1	G	Kalends	Octave of John the Baptist	x		
2	A	6	Processus and Martinian; Visitation of Mary	Processus and Martinian: x (later moved)	Visitation: 1401/23	
3	B	5	Processus and Martinian		moved: 1401/23	
4	C	4	Procopius; Ulrich (<i>Udalricus</i>)		Procopius: 1355 (later moved)	Ulrich: regional
5	D	3				
6	E	2	Octave of Peter and Paul	x		
7	F	Nones	Anniversary of Those Buried in Cemeteries of the Order; Willibald		Anniversary: 1266 (later moved)	Willibald: Salzburg diocese, Engelthal
8	G	8	Kilian			Salzburg diocese & Nuremberg
9	A	7	Octave of Visitation of Mary		1401/23	
10	B	6	The Seven Brothers	x		
11	C	5	Procopius		moved: 1401/23	
12	D	4	Anniversary of Those Buried in Cemeteries of the Order		moved: 1401/23	
13	E	3	Emperor Henry II			Bamberg & Nuremberg
14	F	2				
15	G	Ides	Separation of the Apostles (<i>Divisio apostolorum</i>)			Nuremberg (regional)
16	A	17				
17	B	16	Alexius		1307	
18	C	15				
19	D	14				
20	E	13	Margaret	x		
21	F	12	Praxedes; Arbogast	Praxedes: x		Arbogast: Strasbourg
22	G	11	Mary Magdalene	x		
23	A	10	Apollinaris; Bridget of Sweden (<i>Birgitta</i>)	Apollinaris: x		Bridget: Schöensteinbach, Nuremberg, Augsburg

July

24	B	9	Christina; Translation of Judoc (<i>Jodocus</i>)	Christina: x		Judoc: Bamberg
25	C	8	James (<i>Jacobus</i>); Christopher and Cucuphas	x		
26	D	7	Anne		1465	
27	E	6	Martha		1276	
28	F	5	Nazarius, Celsus, and Pantaleon	x		
29	G	4	Felix, Simplicius, Faustinus, and Beatrice; Octave of Mary Magdalene	Felix et al.: x		Magdalene: St. Peter pap. 45
30	A	3	Abdon and Sennen	x		
31	B	2	Germain (<i>Germanus</i>)	x		

August

				1256?	Year added?	Local veneration
1	C	Kalends	Peter in Chains (<i>Petrus ad vincula</i>); Maccabees	x		
2	D	4	Stephen (pope)	x		
3	E	3	Invention of Stephen protomartyr	x		
4	F	2				
5	G	Nones	Dominic	x		
6	A	8	Sixtus; Felicissimus and Agapitus; Transfiguration of the Lord	Sixtus: x; Fel. and Agapitus: x (both later moved and combined)	Transfiguration: 1465	
7	B	7	Donatus; Sixtus, Felicissimus, Agapitus, and Donatus; Afra	Donatus: x	Sixtus, Fel. et al.: moved 1465	Afra: Augsburg
8	C	6	Cyriacus	x		
9	D	5				
10	E	4	Laurence	x		
11	F	3	Tiburtius	x		
12	G	2	Octave of Dominic; Hilaria	Octave: x		Hilaria: Augsburg
13	A	Ides	Hippolytus (<i>Ypolitus</i>)	x		
14	B	19	Eusebius	x		

August

15	C	18	Assumption	x		
16	D	17	Theodulus			Zurich
17	E	16	Octave of Laurence	x		
18	F	15	Agapitus; Helena	Agapitus: x		Helena: Augsburg Nuremberg
19	G	14	Sebald			
20	A	13	Bernard of Clairvaux	x		
21	B	12				
22	C	11	Octave of Assumption; Timothy and Symphorian	x		
23	D	10				
24	E	9	Bartholomew	x		
25	F	8	King Louis IX (<i>Ludovicus</i>)		1301	
26	G	7				
27	A	6	Rufus	x		
28	B	5	Augustine	x		
29	C	4	Beheading (<i>Decollatio</i>) of John the Baptist; Sabina	x		
30	D	3	Felix and Adauctus	x		
31	E	2				

September

				1256?	Year added?	Local veneration
1	F	Kalends	Giles (<i>Egidius</i>); Verena	Giles: x		Verena: Zurich
2	G	4	Antoninus			Engelthal
3	A	3				
4	B	2	Octave of Augustine; Marcellus	x		
5	C	Nones	Anniversary of friends and benefactors	x		
6	D	8	Mang (<i>Magnus</i>)			Augsburg
7	E	7				
8	F	6	Nativity of the Virgin Mary; Adrian	Mary: x		Adrian: Strasbourg
9	G	5	Gorgonius; Translation of Empress Kunigunde	Gorgonius: x		Kunigunde: Bamberg & Nuremberg
10	A	4				

September

11	B	3	Protus and Hyacinth (<i>Iacinctus</i>); Felix and Regula	Protus and Hyacinth: x		Felix and Regula: Zurich
12	C	2				
13	D	Ides	Maternus of Trier			Engelthal
14	E	18	Exaltation of the Cross; Cornelius and Cyprian	x		
15	F	17	Octave of the Nativity of the Virgin; Nicomedes	x		
16	G	16	Eufemia	x		
17	A	15	Lambert	x		
18	B	14				
19	C	13				
20	D	12				
21	E	11	Matthew	x		
22	F	10	Maurice	x		
23	G	9				
24	A	8	Translation of Rupert			Salzburg diocese
25	B	7				
26	C	6	Justina			St. Katherine Augsburg
27	D	5	Cosmas and Damian	x		
28	E	4	Wenceslas		1298	
29	F	3	Michael the Archangel	x		
30	G	2	Jerome; Otto	Jerome: x		Otto: regional

October

				1256?	Year added?	Local veneration
1	A	Kalends	Remigius	x		
2	B	6	Leodegar	x		
3	C	5				
4	D	4	Francis	x		
5	E	3	Foy (<i>Fides</i>)			Zurich
6	F	2	Octave of Michael		1498	
7	G	Nones	Mark (pope); Sergius and Bacchus, Marcellus and Apuleius	x		
8	A	8				
9	B	7	Denis (<i>Dionisius</i>)	x		
10	C	6	Anniversary of friars and sisters of the order	x		
11	D	5	Nicasius of Rouen			Zurich
12	E	4				
13	F	3	Edward the Confessor		1265	

October

14	G	2	Callixtus; Translation of Margaret	x	Margaret: St. Agnes & St. Margaret
15	A	Ides	Aurelia		Strasbourg
16	B	17	Gallus		Strasbourg regional
17	C	16			
18	D	15	Luke the Evangelist	x	
19	E	14			
20	F	13			
21	G	12	Eleven Thousand Virgins (Ursula)	x	
22	A	11			
23	B	10			
24	C	9			
25	D	8	Crispin and Crispinian	x	
26	E	7			
27	F	6			
28	G	5	Simon and Jude	x	
29	A	4	Narcissus		Augsburg
30	B	3			
31	C	2	Quentin; Wolfgang	Quentin: x	Wolfgang: Salzburg diocese

November

				1256?	Year added?	Local veneration
1	D	Kalends	All Saints	x		
2	E	4	All Souls	x		
3	F	3				
4	G	2				
5	A	Nones				
6	B	8	Leonard			regional to German southeast Strasbourg
7	C	7	Florence			
8	D	6	The Four Crowned Martyrs (<i>Quatuor coronati</i>); Octave of All Saints	Four Crowned: x (later moved)	Octave: 1423	
9	E	5	Theodore	x		
10	F	4	The Four Crowned Martyrs		moved: 1423	
11	G	3	Martin; Mennas	x		
12	A	2				

November

13	B	Ides	Brice (<i>Bricius</i>)	x	
14	C	18			
15	D	17			
16	E	16	Othmar		regional
17	F	15			
18	G	14	Octave of Martin	x	
19	A	13	Elizabeth of Hungary	x	
20	B	12			
21	C	11	Presentation of the Virgin		1518
22	D	10	Cecilia	x	
23	E	9	Clemens	x	
24	F	8	Chrysogonus	x	
25	G	7	Katherine of Alexandria	x	
26	A	6	Conrad		regional
27	B	5	Vitalis and Agricola; Virgil	Vitalis and Ag.: x	Virgil: Salzburg
28	C	4			
29	D	3	Saturninus	x	
30	E	2	Andrew	x	

December

				1256?	Year added?	Local veneration
1	F	Kalends				
2	G	4				
3	A	3	Attala			Strasbourg
4	B	2	Barbara		1423	
5	C	Nones				
6	D	8	Nicholas	x		
7	E	7	Octave of Andrew	x		
8	F	6	Conception (Sanctification) of the Virgin		1388/97	
9	G	5				
10	A	4				
11	B	3	Damasus	x		
12	C	2				
13	D	Ides	Lucia; Judoc (<i>Jodocus</i>)	Lucia: x		Judoc: regional, esp. Bamberg
14	E	19				
15	F	18				
16	G	17				
17	A	16				
18	B	15				

December

19	C	14		
20	D	13		
21	E	12	Thomas Apostle	x
22	F	11		
23	G	10		
24	A	9	Christmas Eve	x
25	B	8	Christmas	x
26	C	7	Stephen Protomartyr	x
27	D	6	John the Evangelist	x
28	E	5	Holy Innocents	x
29	F	4	Thomas of Canterbury	x
30	G	3		
31	A	2	Silvester	x

APPENDIX 2

Psalms over the Office Hours

It is often useful to think structurally in terms of psalm groupings rather than in terms of individual psalms because the block of text that structurally counted as “one psalm” did not necessarily correspond to a psalm as it would be found in the Bible. At lauds, psalms 62 and 66 are always grouped as one, and psalms 148–50 likewise. Sometimes one liturgical psalm comprised only part of a very long biblical psalm. In particular, psalm 118 was split into multiple sections and sung successively over the course of prime, terce, sext, and none. William Bonniwell’s diagrams of the weekly psalm distributions obscure some of this structure because he lists the numbers of the biblical psalms without noting how they are grouped and because he does not integrate the super-psalm antiphons into his discussion of the psalm cycle. I have integrated the psalms with the antiphons to make these structures more visible. The medieval Dominican ordinarium does not indicate psalms by number but rather by incipit; I have included both.

The structure I give is that described in the standard Dominican ordinarium for *Domine ne in ira* Sunday (the first Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany) and the following weekdays. These days are explicitly flagged in the ordinarium as being paradigmatic for all ensuing “normal” Sundays and weekdays throughout the year. Once the psalms resumed the “normal” cycle after the end of Paschal Time on Trinity Sunday, the normal antiphon cycle for the ferial days was also resumed. However, a different set of antiphons from the post-Epiphany set was used for Sundays from the first Sunday after Trinity Sunday until Advent. See *Ordinarium* 58 (§207).

Matins

Sunday Matins—Psalm distribution in the three Sunday nocturns

See *Ordinarium* 23 (§91).

Medieval Institute Publications Invitatory psalm: *Venite exsultemus* (ps. 94)

First Nocturn

Antiphon 1: *Servite*

4 psalms: *Beatus vir* (ps. 1), *Quare fremuerunt gentes* (ps. 2), *Domine quid* (ps. 3), *Domine ne 1* (ps. 6)

Antiphon 2: *Domine Deus*

4 psalms: *Domine Deus* (ps. 7), *Domine Dominus noster* (ps. 8), *Confitebor 1* (ps. 9), *In Domino confido* (ps. 10)

Antiphon 3: *Tu Domine*

4 psalms: *Salvum 1* (ps. 11), *Usquequo* (ps. 12), *Dixit insipiens 1* (ps. 13), *Domine quis* (ps. 14)

Second Nocturn

Antiphon 4: *Bonorum*

Psalm: *Conserva me* (ps. 15)

Antiphon 5: *Inclina*
 Psalm: *Exaudi Domine* (ps. 16)
 Antiphon 6: *Dominus*
 Psalm: *Diligam* (ps. 17)
 Third Nocturn
 Antiphon 7: *Non sunt*
 Psalm: *Caeli enarrant* (ps. 18)
 Antiphon 8: *Exaudiat*
 Psalm: *Exaudiat* (ps. 19)
 Antiphon 9: *Domine in virtute*
 Psalm: *Domine in virtute* (ps. 20)

Ferial Matins—Psalm distribution in each weekday nocturn

See *Ordinarium* 27–30 (§109–17).

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Invitatory psalm: <i>Venite exsultemus</i> (ps. 94) Antiphon 1: <i>Dominus defensor</i> 2 psalms: <i>Dominus illuminatio</i> (ps. 26) & <i>Ad te Domine</i> (ps. 27)	Invitatory psalm: <i>Venite exsultemus</i> (ps. 94) Antiphon 1: <i>Ut non delinquam</i> 2 psalms: <i>Dixi custodiam</i> (ps. 38) & <i>Exspectans</i> (ps. 39)	Invitatory psalm: <i>Venite exsultemus</i> (ps. 94) Antiphon 1: <i>Avertet</i> 2 psalms: <i>Dixit insipiens</i> (ps. 52) & <i>Exaudi Deus 1</i> (ps. 54)	Invitatory psalm: <i>Venite exsultemus</i> (ps. 94) Antiphon 1: <i>Domine</i> 2 psalms: <i>Salvum</i> (ps. 68) & <i>Deus in adiutorium</i> (ps. 69)	Invitatory psalm: <i>Venite exsultemus</i> (ps. 94) Antiphon 1: <i>Exsultate</i> 2 psalms: <i>Exsultate</i> (ps. 80) & <i>Deus stetit</i> (ps. 81)	Invitatory psalm: <i>Venite exsultemus</i> (ps. 94) Antiphon 1: <i>Quia</i> 2 psalms: <i>Cantate 2</i> (ps. 97) & <i>Dominus regnavit irascantur</i> (ps. 98)
Antiphon 2: <i>Adorate</i> 2 psalms: <i>Afferte</i> (ps. 28) & <i>Exaltabo</i> (ps. 29)	Antiphon 2: <i>Sana</i> 2 psalms: <i>Beatus qui</i> (ps. 40) & <i>Quemadmodum</i> (ps. 41)	Antiphon 2: <i>Quoniam</i> 2 psalms: <i>Miserere mei Deus quoniam</i> (ps. 55) & <i>Miserere mei Deus miserere</i> (ps. 56)	Antiphon 2: <i>Esto</i> 2 psalms: <i>In te Domine speravi</i> (ps. 70) & <i>Deus iudicium</i> (ps. 71)	Antiphon 2: <i>Tu solus</i> 2 psalms: <i>Deus quis similis</i> (ps. 82) & <i>Quam dilecta</i> (ps. 83)	Antiphon 2: <i>Jubilate</i> 2 psalms: <i>Jubilate</i> (ps. 99) & <i>Misericordiam</i> (ps. 100)
Antiphon 3: <i>In tua</i> 2 psalms: <i>In te Domine 1</i> (ps. 30) & <i>Beati quorum</i> (ps. 31)	Antiphon 3: <i>Eruclavit</i> 2 psalms: <i>Deus auribus</i> (ps. 43) & <i>Eruclavit</i> (ps. 44)	Antiphon 3: <i>Iuste</i> 2 psalms: <i>Si vere</i> (ps. 57) & <i>Eripe 1</i> (ps. 58)	Antiphon 3: <i>Liberasti</i> 2 psalms: <i>Quam bonus</i> (ps. 72) & <i>Ut quid</i> (ps. 73)	Antiphon 3: <i>Benedixisti</i> 2 psalms: <i>Benedixisti</i> (ps. 84) & <i>Inclina</i> (ps. 85)	Antiphon 3: <i>Clamor</i> 2 psalms: <i>Domine exaudi 1</i> (ps. 101) & <i>Benedic 1</i> (ps. 102)
Antiphon 4: <i>Rectos</i>	Antiphon 4: <i>Adjutor</i>	Antiphon 4: <i>Da nobis</i>	Antiphon 4: <i>In Israel</i>	Antiphon 4: <i>Fundamenta</i>	Antiphon 4: <i>Benedic</i>

<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
2 psalms: <i>Exsultate justi</i> (ps. 32) & <i>Benedicam</i> (ps. 33)	2 psalms: <i>Deus</i> <i>noster</i> (ps. 45) & <i>Omnes</i> <i>gentes</i> (ps. 46)	2 psalms: <i>Deus</i> <i>repulisti nos</i> (ps.59) & <i>Exaudi</i> <i>Deus</i> <i>deprecationem</i> (ps. 60)	2 psalms: <i>Confitebimur</i> (ps. 74) & <i>Notus in</i> <i>Judaea</i> (ps. 75)	2 psalms: <i>Fundamenta</i> (ps. 86) & <i>Domine deus</i> <i>salutis</i> (ps. 87)	2 psalms: <i>Benedic</i> 2 (ps. 103) & <i>Confitemini</i> 1 (ps. 104)
Antiphon 5: <i>Expugna</i> 2 psalms: <i>Judica</i> <i>Domine</i> (ps. 34) & <i>Dixit</i> <i>injustus</i> (ps. 35)	Antiphon 5: <i>Auribus</i> 2 psalms: <i>Magnus</i> <i>Dominus</i> (ps. 47) & <i>Audite</i> (ps. 48)	Antiphon 5: <i>A</i> <i>timore</i> 2 psalms: <i>Nonne</i> (ps. 61) & <i>Exaudi</i> <i>Deus orationem</i> (ps. 63)	Antiphon 5: <i>Tu es</i> 2 psalms: <i>Voce mea</i> (ps. 76) & <i>Attendite</i> (ps. 77)	Antiphon 5: <i>Benedictus</i> 2 psalms: <i>Misericordias</i> (ps. 88) & <i>Deus</i> <i>ultionum</i> (ps. 93)	Antiphon 5: <i>Visita</i> 2 psalms: <i>Confitemini</i> 2 (ps. 105) & <i>Confitemini</i> 3 (ps. 106)
Antiphon 6: <i>Revela</i> 2 psalms: <i>Noli</i> (ps. 36) & <i>Domine ne</i> 2 (ps. 37)	Antiphon 6: <i>Deus deorum</i> 2 psalms: <i>Deus</i> <i>deorum</i> (ps. 49) & <i>Quid</i> <i>gloriaris</i> (ps. 51)	Antiphon 6: <i>In</i> <i>ecclesiis</i> 2 psalms: <i>Jubilate</i> 1 (ps. 65) & <i>Exsurgat</i> (ps. 67)	Antiphon 6: <i>Propitius</i> 2 psalms: <i>Deus</i> <i>venerunt</i> (ps. 78) & <i>Qui</i> <i>regis</i> (ps. 79)	Antiphon 6: <i>Cantate</i> 2 psalms: <i>Cantate</i> 1 (ps. 95) & <i>Dominus</i> <i>regnavit</i> <i>exsultet</i> (ps. 96)	Antiphon 6: <i>Confitebor</i> 2 psalms: <i>Paratum</i> (ps. 107) & <i>Deus</i> <i>laudem</i> (ps. 108)

Lauds Psalm Distribution Throughout the Week

See *Ordinarium* 4 (§10), 27–29 (§110–16).

<i>Sunday</i>	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
Antiphon 1: <i>Regnavit</i> Psalm 1: <i>Dominus</i> <i>regnavit</i> <i>decorem</i> (ps. 92)	Antiphon 1: <i>Miserere</i> Psalm 1: <i>Miserere</i> (ps. 50)	Antiphon 1: <i>Secundum</i> Psalm 1: <i>Miserere</i> (ps. 50)	Antiphon 1: <i>Amplius</i> Psalm 1: <i>Miserere</i> (ps. 50)	Antiphon 1: <i>Tibi</i> Psalm 1: <i>Miserere</i> (ps. 50)	Antiphon 1: <i>Spiritu</i> Psalm 1: <i>Miserere</i> (ps. 50)	Antiphon 1: <i>Benigne</i> Psalm 1: <i>Miserere</i> (ps. 50)
	Antiphon 2: <i>Intellige</i>	Antiphon 2: <i>Salutare</i>	Antiphon 2: <i>Te decet</i>	Antiphon 2: <i>Domine</i> <i>refugium</i>	Antiphon 2: <i>In veritate</i>	Antiphon 2: <i>Bonum est</i>
Psalm 2: <i>Jubilate deo</i> (ps. 99)	Psalm 2: <i>Verba mea</i> (ps. 5)	Psalm 2: <i>Judica me</i> <i>deus</i> (ps. 42)	Psalm 2: <i>Te</i> <i>decet</i> (ps. 64)	Psalm 2: <i>Domine</i> <i>refugium</i> (ps. 89)	Psalm 2: <i>Domine</i> <i>exaudi</i> 2 (ps. 142)	Psalm 2: <i>Bonum est</i> (ps. 91)
	Antiphon 3: <i>Deus deus</i>	Antiphon 3: <i>Ad te</i>	Antiphon 3: <i>Labia</i>	Antiphon 3: <i>In matutinis</i>	Antiphon 3: <i>Illumina</i>	Antiphon 3: <i>Metuant</i>

<i>Sunday</i>	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
Psalm 3: <i>Deus deus</i> (ps. 62), <i>Deus</i> <i>misereatur</i> (ps. 66)	Psalm 3: <i>Deus deus</i> (ps. 62), <i>Deus</i> <i>misereatur</i> (ps. 66) Antiphon 4: <i>Conversus</i>	Psalm 3: <i>Deus deus</i> (ps. 62), <i>Deus</i> <i>misereatur</i> (ps. 66) Antiphon 4: <i>Cunctis</i>	Psalm 3: <i>Deus deus</i> (ps. 62), <i>Deus</i> <i>misereatur</i> (ps. 66) Antiphon 4: <i>Dominus</i>	Psalm 3: <i>Deus deus</i> (ps. 62), <i>Deus</i> <i>misereatur</i> (ps. 66) Antiphon 4: <i>In aeternum</i>	Psalm 3: <i>Deus deus</i> (ps. 62), <i>Deus</i> <i>misereatur</i> (ps. 66) Antiphon 4: <i>Domine</i> <i>audivi</i>	Psalm 3: <i>Deus deus</i> (ps. 62), <i>Deus</i> <i>misereatur</i> (ps. 66) Antiphon 4: <i>Et in servis</i>
Canticle: <i>Benedicite</i>	Canticle: <i>Confitebor</i> Antiphon 5: <i>Laudate</i>	Canticle: <i>Ego dixi</i> Antiphon 5: <i>Omnes</i>	Canticle: <i>Exsultavit</i> Antiphon 5: <i>Caeli</i>	Canticle: <i>Cantemus</i> Antiphon 5: <i>In sanctis</i>	Canticle: <i>Domine</i> <i>audivi</i> Antiphon 5: <i>In tympano</i>	Canticle: <i>Audite</i> Antiphon 5: <i>In cymbalis</i>
Psalm 4: <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 148), <i>Cantate</i> (ps. 149), <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 150)	Psalm 4: <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 148), <i>Cantate</i> (ps. 149), <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 150)	Psalm 4: <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 148), <i>Cantate</i> (ps. 149), <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 150)	Psalm 4: <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 148), <i>Cantate</i> (ps. 149), <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 150)	Psalm 4: <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 148), <i>Cantate</i> (ps. 149), <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 150)	Psalm 4: <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 148), <i>Cantate</i> (ps. 149), <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 150)	Psalm 4: <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 148), <i>Cantate</i> (ps. 149), <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 150)

The Sunday psalm cycle for Lauds is different from Septuagesima up to and including Palm Sunday: ps. 50, ps. 117, ps. 62 & 66, cant. *Benedicite*, ps. 148–50. *Ordinarium* 31 (§124).

During the seasons of the Temporale cycle, five antiphons (instead of one) are sung at Sunday Lauds, and these antiphons change every Sunday. However, the ordinarium only provides one antiphon for the First Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany, and thus for Ordinary Time in general. *Ordinarium* 23 (§92).

Psalm Distribution at Vespers Throughout the Week

See *Ordinarium* 19 (§72–73), 20 (§76), 26 (§106), and 27–29 (§111–16).

<i>Sunday</i>	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
Antiphon 1: <i>Dixit</i> <i>dominus</i>	Antiphon 1: <i>Inclinavit</i>	Antiphon 1: <i>In domum</i>	Antiphon 1: <i>Beatus</i>	Antiphon 1: <i>Et omnis</i>	Antiphon 1: <i>In conspectu</i>	Antiphon 1: <i>Benedictus</i>
Psalm 1: <i>Dixit</i> <i>dominus</i> (ps. 109)	Psalm 1: <i>Dilexi</i> (ps. 114)	Psalm 1: <i>Laetatus</i> <i>sum</i> (ps. 121)	Psalm 1: <i>Nisi</i> <i>dominus</i> (ps. 126)	Psalm 1: <i>Memento</i> (ps. 131)	Psalm 1: <i>Confitebor</i> <i>tibi</i> (ps. 137)	Psalm 1: <i>Benedictus</i> <i>dominus</i> (ps. 143)
Antiphon 2: <i>Fidelia</i>	Antiphon 2: <i>Credidi</i>	Antiphon 2: <i>Qui habitas</i>	Antiphon 2: <i>Beati omnes</i>	Antiphon 2: <i>Ecce</i> <i>quam</i>	Antiphon 2: <i>Domine</i> <i>probasti me</i>	Antiphon 2: <i>In</i> <i>aeternum</i>
Psalm 2: <i>Confitebor</i> (ps. 110)	Psalm 2: <i>Credidi</i> (ps. 115)	Psalm 2: <i>Ad</i> <i>te levavi</i> (ps. 122)	Psalm 2: <i>Beati omnes</i> (ps. 127)	Psalm 2: <i>Ecce quam</i> (ps. 132)	Psalm 2: <i>Domine</i> <i>probasti me</i> (ps. 138)	Psalm 2: <i>Exaltabo te</i> (ps. 144)
Antiphon 3: <i>In mandatis</i>	Antiphon 3: <i>Laudate</i>	Antiphon 3: <i>Adjutorium</i>	Antiphon 3: <i>Benediximus</i>	Antiphon 3: <i>Omnia</i>	Antiphon 3: <i>A viro</i>	Antiphon 3: <i>Laudabo</i>

<i>Sunday</i>	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
Psalm 3: <i>Beatus vir qui timet</i> (ps. 111)	Psalm 3: <i>Laudate</i> (ps. 116)	Psalm 3: <i>Nisi quia</i> (ps. 123)	Psalm 3: <i>Saepe</i> (ps. 128)	Psalm 3: <i>Laudate nomen</i> (ps. 134)	Psalm 3: <i>Eripe me</i> (ps. 139)	Psalm 3: <i>Lauda anima</i> (ps. 145)
Antiphon 4: <i>Sit nomen</i>	Antiphon 4: <i>Clamavi</i>	Antiphon 4: <i>Benefac</i>	Antiphon 4: <i>De profundis</i>	Antiphon 4: <i>Quoniam</i>	Antiphon 4: <i>Domine clamavi</i>	Antiphon 4: <i>Deo nostro</i>
Psalm 4: <i>Laudate pueri</i> (ps. 112)	Psalm 4: <i>Ad dominum</i> (ps. 119)	Psalm 4: <i>Qui confidunt</i> (ps. 124)	Psalm 4: <i>De profundis</i> (ps. 129)	Psalm 4: <i>Confitemini</i> (ps. 135)	Psalm 4: <i>Domine clamavi</i> (ps. 140)	Psalm 4: <i>Laudate dominum quoniam</i> (ps. 146)
Antiphon 5: <i>Nos qui vivimus</i>	Antiphon 5: <i>Auxilium</i>	Antiphon 5: <i>Facti</i>	Antiphon 5: <i>Speret</i>	Antiphon 5: <i>Hymnum</i>	Antiphon 5: <i>Portio</i>	Antiphon 5: <i>Lauda</i>
Psalm 5: <i>In exitu Israel</i> (ps. 113)	Psalm 5: <i>Levavi oculos</i> (ps. 120)	Psalm 5: <i>In convertendo</i> (ps. 125)	Psalm 5: <i>Domine non est</i> (ps. 130)	Psalm 5: <i>Super flumina</i> (ps. 136)	Psalm 5: <i>Voce mea</i> (ps. 141)	Psalm 5: <i>Lauda Jerusalem</i> (ps. 147)

Psalm Distribution over the Little Hours (Same Every Day of the Week) Prime

See *Ordinarium* 24 (§93, §95).

antiphon: *Gloria tibi*

ps. 53 (*Deus in nomine*)

ps. 118: 1–16 (*Beati immaculati*)

ps. 118: 17–32 (*Retribue*)

canticle (only on Sundays): *Quicumque vult* (Athanasian Creed)

On Sundays from Septuagesima to Palm Sunday, psalms were sung at prime in the following pattern. See *Ordinarium* 31 (§125).

ps. 21 (*Deus deus meus respice*)

ps. 22 (*Dominus regit*)

ps. 23 (*Domini est terra*)

ps. 24 (*Ad te Domine levavi*)

ps. 25 (*Judica me Domine*)

ps. 53 (*Deus in nomine*)

ps. 92 (*Dominus regnavit decorem*)

ps. 118: 1–16 (*Beati immaculati*)

ps. 118: 17–32 (*Retribue*)

canticle: *Quicumque vult*.

Terce

See *Ordinarium* 25 (§103).

antiphon: *Laus*

ps. 118: 33–48 (*Legem pone mihi*)

ps. 118: 49–64 (*Memor esto verbi*)

ps. 118: 65–80 (*Bonitatem fecisti cum servo tuo*)

Sext

antiphon: *Gloria laudis*
 ps. 118: 81–96 (*Defecit in salutare*)
 ps. 118: 97–112 (*Quomodo dilexi legem tuam*)
 ps. 118: 113–28 (*Iniquos odio habui*)

None

antiphon: *Ex quo omnia*
 ps. 118: 129–44 (*Mirabilia testimonia tua*)
 ps. 118: 145–60 (*Clamavi in toto corde meo*)
 ps. 118: 161–76 (*Principes persecuti sunt me*)

Compline

See *Ordinarium* 21–22 (§80–82)

antiphon: *Miserere*
 ps. 4 (*Cum invocarem*)
 ps. 30: 1–6 (*In te Domine speravi*)
 ps. 90 (*Qui habitat*)
 ps. 133 (*Ecce nunc*)

Psalms at Matins During Paschal Time

See *Ordinarium* 44 (§160), 47–48 (§167–72), 49 (§175), 50–51 (§178–82), 51–52 (§184–86), 53–55 (§191–92, §194–98, §200), 56–57 (§203–4)

<i>Easter</i>	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
Antiphon 1: <i>Ego sum</i>	Antiphon : <i>Surrexit Christus</i>	Antiphon : <i>Surrexit Christus</i>	Antiphon : <i>Surrexit Christus</i>	Antiphon : <i>Surrexit Christus</i>	Antiphon : <i>Surrexit Christus</i>	Antiphon : <i>Surrexit Christus</i>
Psalm 1: <i>Beatus vir</i> (ps. 1)	Psalm 1: <i>Cum invocarem</i> (ps. 4)	Psalm 1: <i>Domine deus meus</i> (ps. 7)	Psalm 1: <i>Salvum me fac</i> 1 (ps. 11)	Psalm 1: <i>Domine quis</i> (ps. 14)	Psalm 1: <i>Caeli enarrant</i> (ps. 18)	Psalm 1: <i>Dominus regit</i> (ps. 22)
Antiphon 2: <i>Postulavi</i>						
Psalm 2: <i>Quare</i> (ps. 2)	Psalm 2: <i>Verba mea</i> (ps. 5)	Psalm 2: <i>Domine dominus</i> (ps. 8)	Psalm 2: <i>Usquequo</i> (ps. 12)	Psalm 2: <i>Conserva me</i> (ps. 15)	Psalm 2: <i>Exaudiat te</i> (ps. 19)	Psalm 2: <i>Domini est terra</i> (ps. 23)
Antiphon 3: <i>Ego dormivi</i>						
Psalm 3: <i>Domine quid</i> (ps. 3)	Psalm 3: <i>Domine ne</i> 1 (ps. 6)	Psalm 3: <i>In domino confido</i> (ps. 10)	Psalm 3: <i>Dixit insipiens</i> 1 (ps. 13)	Psalm 3: <i>Exaudi domine</i> (ps. 16)	Psalm 3: <i>Domine in virtute</i> (ps. 20)	Psalm 3: <i>Judica me Domine</i> (ps. 25)
<i>Octave of Easter</i>	<i>Monday Week 1</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>

<i>Easter</i>	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
	Psalm 1: <i>Exsultate justi</i> (ps. 32)	Psalm 1: <i>Deus noster</i> (ps. 45)	Psalm 1: <i>Deus repulisti</i> (ps. 59)	Psalm 1: <i>Confitebimur</i> (ps. 74)	Psalm 1: <i>Fundamenta eius</i> (ps. 86)	Psalm 1: <i>Benedic 2</i> (ps. 103)
	Psalm 2: <i>Benedicam</i> (ps. 33)	Psalm 2: <i>Omnes gentes</i> (ps. 46)	Psalm 2: <i>Exaudi deus</i> (ps. 60)	Psalm 2: <i>Notus in Judaea</i> (ps.75)	Psalm 2: <i>Domine deus salutis</i> (ps. 87)	Psalm 2: <i>Confitemini 1</i> (ps. 104)
	Psalm 3: <i>Judica domine</i> (ps. 34)	Psalm 3: <i>Magnus dominus</i> (ps. 47)	Psalm 3: <i>Nonne deo</i> (ps. 61)	Psalm 3: <i>Voce mea</i> (ps. 76)	Psalm 3: <i>Misericordias</i> (ps. 88)	Psalm 3: <i>Confitemini 2</i> (ps. 105)
<i>Third Sunday</i>	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
antiphon and psalms as previous Sunday	Antiphon: <i>Alleluia</i>	Antiphon: <i>Alleluia</i>	Antiphon: <i>Alleluia</i>	Antiphon: <i>Alleluia</i>	Antiphon: <i>Alleluia</i>	Antiphon: <i>Alleluia</i>
	Psalm 1: <i>Dixit injustus</i> (ps. 35)	Psalm 1: <i>Audite haec omnes gentes</i> (ps. 48)	Psalm 1: <i>Exaudi deus orationem</i> (ps. 63)	Psalm 1: <i>Attendite</i> (ps. 77)	Psalm 1: <i>Deus ultionum</i> (ps. 93)	Psalm 1: <i>Confitemini 3</i> (ps. 106)
	Psalm 2: <i>Noli aemulari</i> (ps. 36)	Psalm 2: <i>Deus deorum</i> (ps. 49)	Psalm 2: <i>Jubilate</i> (ps. 65)	Psalm 2: <i>Deus venerunt</i> (ps. 78)	Psalm 2: <i>Cantate 1</i> (ps. 95)	Psalm 2: <i>Paratum</i> (ps. 107)
	Psalm 3: <i>Domine ne in furore</i> (ps. 37)	Psalm 3: <i>Quid gloriaris</i> (ps. 51)	Psalm 3: <i>Exsurgat</i> (ps. 67)	Psalm 3: <i>Qui regis</i> (ps. 79)	Psalm 3: <i>Dominus regnabit exsultet</i> (ps. 96)	Psalm 3: <i>Deus laudem</i> (ps. 108)
<i>Fourth Sunday</i>	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Ascension</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
antiphon and psalms as previous Sunday	as in first week after octave of Easter	as in first week after octave of Easter	as in first week after octave of Easter	Antiphon 1: <i>Elevata</i>	Antiphon : <i>Exaltare</i>	Antiphon : <i>Nimis</i>
				Psalm 1: <i>Domine dominus</i> (ps. 8)	Psalm 1: <i>Domine in virtute</i> (ps. 20)	Psalm 1: <i>Dominus regnabit exsultet</i> (ps. 96)

<i>Easter</i>	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
				Antiphon 2: <i>Dominus in templo</i> Psalm 2: <i>In domino confido</i> (ps. 10)	Psalm 2: <i>Exaltabo</i> (ps. 29)	Psalm 2: <i>Dominus regnavit irascentur</i> (ps. 98)
				Antiphon 3: <i>A summo Caeli enarrant</i> (ps. 18)	Psalm 3: <i>Omnes gentes</i> (ps. 46)	Psalm 3: <i>Benedic 1</i> (ps. 102)
<i>Sunday within Octave of Ascension</i>	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Octave of Ascension</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Eve of Pentecost</i>
antiphons and psalms as on Ascension	Antiphon: <i>Dominus in templo</i> psalms as on Ascension	Antiphon: <i>Exaltabo</i> psalms as on preceding Friday	Antiphon: <i>Dominus in Sion</i> psalms as on preceding Saturday	antiphons and psalms as on Ascension	Antiphon: <i>Regnabit</i> psalms as on preceding Friday	Antiphon: <i>Dominus in caelo</i> psalms as on preceding Saturday
<i>Pentecost</i>	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
Antiphon 1: <i>Factus est</i> Psalm 1: <i>Magnus dominus</i> (ps. 47) Antiphon 2: <i>Confirma</i> Psalm 2: <i>Exsurgat</i> (ps. 67) Antiphon 3: <i>Emitte</i> Psalm 3: <i>Benedic 2</i> (ps. 103)	Antiphon: <i>Factus est</i> psalms as on Pentecost	Antiphon: <i>Confirma</i> psalms as on Pentecost	Antiphon: <i>Emitte</i> psalms as on Pentecost	Antiphon: <i>Factus est</i> psalms as on Pentecost	Antiphon: <i>Confirma</i> psalms as on Pentecost	Antiphon: <i>Emitte</i> psalms as on Pentecost

APPENDIX 3

Structure of the Office Hours for a Totum Duplex Feast

The Translation of Dominic Outside of Paschal Time

This reconstruction of the office liturgy for the Translation of Dominic relies on the edited *ordinarium*, the edited constitutions for Dominican friars from 1256, and the edited constitutions for Dominican sisters from 1259 (hereafter *Ordinarium*, Liber const. fr., and Liber const. sor.). In order to fill out the texts and music for the liturgy of Humbert's 1256–59 codification, I rely on the liturgical exemplar London, British Library, Add. ms. 23935. To complement this with documented practices for late medieval German Dominican sisters, I use manuscripts from the convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg. I selected the winter diurnal Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter perg. 53a. Although it was copied by a professional scribe (Johannes Tretter) and not the sisters, it fits perfectly with the project of [Chapter 6](#). It was made for St. Katherine in Nuremberg, its texts correspond to the numerous other surviving manuscripts from that convent, and the colophon records that it was completed in 1516 (f. 217v). For the matins lessons, I consulted the large-format breviary Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus, Cod. Cent. V, 33.

Rather than compiling only the chants and readings proper to the Translation of Dominic, I have striven to assemble the entire course of the office, including chants and prayers said daily. Coordinating the full liturgy in this way foregrounds the layers of liturgical regulation between the constitutions and the *ordinarium*, as well as the labor it took to coordinate any given feast from numerous liturgical books. I have documented the sources with care to facilitate reconstructing the liturgies of other feasts in a similar manner. Those who wish to attempt this must pay close attention to seasonal and daily variations. These are often flagged in the extensive rubrics for the First Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany, although the details must then be sought in the rubrics for the relevant season (*Ordinarium*, 19–26 (§71–108)). Similarly, the rank of each feast significantly affected certain structures in the office liturgy and careful attention should be paid to these rubrics (*Ordinarium*, 68–72 (§266–89)). The seasonal variations are significant enough that I decided not to supply the alternatives used for the Translation of Dominic during Paschal Time because adding them all would have significantly cluttered the edition. Readers should use this edition not as a scaffold for Dominican offices but as a resource pointing to the instructions needed.

Each entry begins with the genre of the liturgical text. Definitions of these liturgical genres are included in the Glossary. Parenthetical notes after each item indicate the source regulating that item's

use, the liturgical book containing it, and the folio on which the text and music is found in the London exemplar. Items in brackets are optional, introduced later, or omitted on totum duplex feasts, such as the significant penitential liturgies omitted in accordance with the feast's joyous nature. Items in italics represent the sisters' practices, as attested for St. Katherine in Nuremberg, and are only included when they deviate from the norm attested in the London exemplar.

I do not use punctuation for the chants and readings; this facilitates finding items through word searches. I have not provided the Cantus IDs for the items listed in the online Cantus Index (cantusindex.org), but I have followed the classicized spelling used in that database so that readers may easily search for them there. For scriptural texts, I have used the spelling of the Latin Vulgate as provided in the Douay-Rheims Bible Online (drbo.org), although where the wording differs, I follow the Dominican sources. I have not transcribed the full texts of the psalms, canticles, hymns, or lessons, which are lengthy; these texts may be found in the London exemplar on the folios indicated. The psalms and canticles may be found in the Douay-Rheims Bible Online. The hymns may be found on the Cantus Index, and the lessons in Simon Tugwell's edition of Humbert's *Legendae Sancti Dominici*.¹

Notes on Dominican Performance Practice

If a major feast, such as the Ascension, fell on the day before or after the Translation of Dominic, then the vespers office was celebrated for the more important feast, and vespers for Dominic's feast was reduced to a memoria within that other vespers (*Ordinarium*, 75 (§298) and 90–91 (§363), as well as 65–66 (§254–60)).

Saying the *Pater noster* before each of the hours was a common pious practice in the communities of early friars. Humbert of Romans included this practice explicitly in the constitutions for sisters, although it never gained the same legislative status in the friars' constitutions (Liber const. sor., 339 (c. 2); Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, 2:138).

Antiphons were intoned by a soloist (usually the liturgical presider) before the psalms were chanted, but this person only sang until the point marked by two lines in the music. The antiphon was only sung in its entirety after the psalms or, as appropriate, the canticle. Throughout this appendix, the phrase preceding the two lines is given before the psalms or canticles and the full text of the antiphon is provided after, in accordance with the Dominican performance practice (*Ordinarium*, 19 (§72)). On totum duplex feasts, the entire antiphon was sung both before and after the *Magnificat* canticle at vespers and the *Benedictus* canticle at lauds (*Ordinarium*, 72 (§287)).

Memoriae were generally not required on totum duplex feasts (*Ordinarium*, 76 (§299–301)). However, if the Translation of Dominic fell on a Sunday, for example, then a memoria for that Sunday was required (*Ordinarium*, 75 (§297)). As I discuss in [Chapter 6](#), in the course of the Middle Ages, other situations arose in which memoriae were included in vespers; for example, when the Translation of Dominic was celebrated on the day after the Octave of Corpus Christi. Such coincidences were not foreseen in the 1256 *ordinarium*.

At compline, when the community ate two meals, the first part of the compline ritual up to the *Pater noster* was done in the choir. On fasting days, this first part of the ritual was performed as part of collation (Liber const. sor., 339 (c. 1), 340 (c. 6), and rubrics in London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 92r). Preces were not said at compline nor prime on totum duplex feasts (*Ordinarium*, 25 (§100)). When preces were said, then the versicle *Dignare domine* was said after the confession (*Ordinarium*, 22 (§88), 24 (§93)).

At matins, the invitatory psalm verses were sung by the soloists who intoned the invitatory antiphon (*Ordinarium*, 22–23 (§91)). The Dominican *ordinarium* does not contain explicit instructions for performing the invitatory, but special instructions for certain Sundays confirm that

they followed common practice.² The invitatory antiphon had two parts, and the invitatory psalm (ps. 94) was divided into five “verses” plus the doxology. First, the soloists intoned the antiphon in its entirety, and the entire community sang the remainder of the antiphon. After the soloists sang psalm verses 1, 3, and 5, the choir repeated the whole antiphon; after verses 2, 4, and the doxology, the choir repeated only the second half. At the end, the whole antiphon was sung once more. There were different melodies for the psalm, depending on the mode of the antiphon. On the Translation of Dominic, psalm 94 was sung in tone 4 for Dominic’s Translation to match the mode of the invitatory antiphon, as found at the beginning of the pulpitary (London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 445r–v).

Only three responsories are provided for Dominic’s Translation. The *ordinarium* instructs to supply the rest from Dominic’s main feast. Therefore, responsories 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 8 are all from Dominic’s main feast. The antiphons for the Translation of Dominic are identical to those for his main feast. Only the antiphons for the first nocturn are included under the Translation in the antiphoner. The antiphons of the second and third nocturns must be sought under Dominic’s main feast.

On feasts of rank simplex and greater, the lauds antiphons were repeated in order at each of the little hours (prime, terce, sext, and none), with the exception of the fourth lauds antiphon, which was skipped (*Ordinarium*, 69–70 (§273)). The Dominicans followed a common practice in which the text of the versicle and response for one of the little hours was used as the responsory and verse for the next.³ On feasts of rank simplex and greater, the first lauds antiphon was sung again over all five psalms at second vespers (*Ordinarium*, 69–70 (§273) and 71 (§283)).

First Vespers Outside of Paschal Time

Silent prayer: Pater noster, etc. (Liber const. sor. 339 (c. 2))

Versicle: Deus in adiutorium meum intende / Response: Domine ad adjuvandum me festina / In unison: Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper in saecula saeculorum amen. Alleluia. (*Ordinarium*, 19 (§71); collectarium, f. 82v)

5 Psalms (same for all totum duplex feasts; *Ordinarium*, 72 (§286); psalter) with antiphon

Antiphon incipit: Adest

ps. 112: Laudate pueri, etc.

ps. 116: Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, etc.

ps. 145: Lauda anima, etc.

ps. 146: Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus, etc.

ps. 147: Lauda Jerusalem, etc.

Antiphon (proper): Adest dies laetitiae quo beatum Dominicum exaltavit rex gloriae per odorem mirificum (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363); antiphoner, f. 333r)

Capitulum (proper): Quasi stella matutina in medio nebulae et quasi luna plena in diebus suis et quasi sol refulgens sic iste effulsit in templo Dei (Jesus Sirach 50: 6–7) (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363); collectarium; f. 85r) / Response: Deo gratias (Collectarium, f. 82v)

Responsory (proper): In odoris, etc. (see matins for full text) (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363); antiphoner, f. 333v)

Hymn (proper): Gaude mater ecclesia, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363); hymnal in antiphoner, f. 374v)

Versicle (common of a confessor): Ora pro nobis beate Dominice / Response: Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363); antiphoner, f. 366v)

Antiphon (proper): Magnificat Dominicum Christus novo miraculo dum odorem mirificum ejus profert ex tumulo (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363); antiphoner, f. 333r)

Canticle: Magnificat anima mea dominum, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 20 (§77); psalter, f. 138v)

Antiphon: Magnificat Dominicum, etc.

Versicle: For friars: Dominus vobiscum / Response: Et cum spiritu tuo (*Ordinarium*, 20 (§78); collectarium, f. 82v) For sisters: Domine exaudi orationem meam / Response: Et clamor meus ad te veniat (*Ordinarium*, 115 (§466))⁴ / Oremus (collectarium, f. 82v)

Collect (proper): Deus qui ecclesiam tuam beati Dominici confessoris tui illuminare dignatus es meritis et doctrinis concede ut ejus intercessione temporalibus non destituatur auxiliis et spiritualibus semper proficiat incrementis (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363); collectarium, f. 89v)

Collect termination: Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum / Response: Amen (collectarium, f. 82v; instructions for selecting appropriate termination, f. 83r)

[Memoriae, if required: each = antiphon, versicle and response, collect]

Versicle and response for friars: Dominus vobiscum, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 21 (§78)) For sisters: Domine exaudi, etc.

Versicle: Benedicamus domino / Response: Deo gratias (*Ordinarium*, 21 (§79); collectarium, f. 83r; totum duplex melody in antiphoner, f. 250r)

Closing prayer: Fidelium animae per misericordiam dei requiescant in pace / Response: Amen (collectarium, f. 83r)

Silent: Pater noster, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 21 (§79))

Compline Outside of Paschal Time

Request for blessing for friars: Jube domne benedicere (lectionary, f. 141r) For sisters: Jube domna benedicere (*St Peter perg.* 53a, f. 119r)

Blessing: Noctem quietam et finem perfectum tribuat nobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus / Response: Amen (collectarium, f. 92r)

Reading for friars: Fratres sobrii estote et vigilate quia adversarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret cui resistite fortes in fide (psalter, f. 114r) For sisters: Sorores sobriae estote et vigilate quia adversarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret cui resistite fortes in fide (*St Peter perg.* 53a, f. 119v)

Conclusion: Tu autem domine miserere nostri / Response: Deo gratias (lectionary, f. 141r)

Versicle: Adjutorium nostrum in nomine domini / Response: Qui fecit caelum et terram (collectarium, f. 91v)

Silent: Pater noster, etc.

Confession (“Liber const. fr.,” 37 (dist. 1, c. 1); “Liber const. sor.,” 339 (c. 1))

For Friars (collectarium, f. 83r):

Presider: Confiteor deo et beatæ Mariæ et omnibus sanctis et vobis fratres quia peccavi nimis cogitatione locutione opere et omissione mea culpa precor vos orate pro me

Community: Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua liberet te ab omni malo salvet et confirmet in omni opere bono et perducat ad vitam aeternam

Presider: Amen

Community: Confiteor deo et beatæ Mariæ et omnibus sanctis et tibi pater quia peccavi nimis cogitatione locutione opere et omissione mea culpa precor te ora pro me

Presider: Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra liberet vos ab omni malo salvet et confirmet in omni opere bono et perducat ad vitam aeternam

Community: Amen

For Sisters (*St. Peter perg.* 53a, f. 119v–120r):

Presider: Confiteor deo et beatæ Mariæ et beato Dominico⁵ et omnibus sanctis et vobis sorores quia peccavi nimis cogitatione locutione opere et omissione mea culpa precor vos

orare pro me

Community: Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua liberet te ab omni malo salvet et confirmet in omni opere bono et perducatur ad vitam aeternam

Presider: Amen

Community: Confiteor deo et beatae Mariae et beato Dominico et omnibus sanctis et tibi mater quia peccavi nimis cogitatione locutione opere et omissione mea culpa precor te ora pro me

Presider: Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra liberet vos ab omni malo salvet et confirmet in omni opere bono et perducatur ad vitam aeternam

Community: Amen

Versicle: *Converte nos Deus salutaris noster* / Response: *Et averte iram tuam a nobis* (collectarium, f. 82v)

Versicle and response: *Deus in adjutorium, etc.*

4 Psalms (always same for compline, *Ordinarium*, 21 (§80) and 22 (§82)) with antiphon

Antiphon incipit: *Miserere*

ps. 4: *Cum invocarem, etc.*

ps. 30, 1–6: *In te Domine speravi, etc.*

ps. 90: *Qui habitat, etc.*

ps. 133: *Ecce nunc, etc.*

Antiphon: *Miserere mihi domine et exaudi orationem meam* (*Ordinarium*, 21 (§81); antiphoner at 1st Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany (hereafter Oct. Epi.), f. 266r)

Capitulum: *Tu in nobis es domine et nomen sanctum tuum invocatum est super nos ne derelinquas nos domine Deus noster* (Jeremiah 14:9) / Response: *Deo gratias* (*Ordinarium*, 22 (§83); collectarium at 1st Sunday after Oct. Epi., f. 83v)

Responsory: *In manus tuas domine* / *Commendo spiritum meum* / Verse: *Redemisti me domine deus veritatis* / Repetenda: *Commendo, etc.* / Verse: *Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto* / Repetenda: *In manus, etc.* (*Ordinarium*, 22 (§84); antiphoner at 1st Sunday after Oct. Epi., f. 266r)

Hymn (seasonal): *Te lucis ante terminum, etc.* (*Ordinarium*, 22 (§85), hymnal in antiphoner at 1st Sunday after Oct. Epi., f. 371v)

Versicle: *Custodi nos domine ut pupillam oculi* / Response: *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege nos* (*Ordinarium*, 22 (§86); antiphoner at 1st Sunday after Oct. Epi., f. 266r)

Antiphon incipit: *Salva nos*

Canticle: *Nunc dimittis, etc.* (*Ordinarium*, 22 (§87); psalter, f. 138v)

Antiphon (outside of Paschal Time): *Salva nos domine vigilantes custodi nos dormientes ut vigilemus cum Christo et requiescamus in pace* (*Ordinarium*, 22 (§87); antiphoner at 1st Sunday after Oct. Epi., f. 266r)

[Preces not said on totum duplex feasts. (*Ordinarium*, 22 (§88); collectarium, f. 83r)]

Versicle and response: For friars: *Dominus vobiscum, etc.* For sisters: *Domine exaudi, etc.*

Collect: *Visita quaesumus domine habitationem istam et omnes insidias inimici ab ea longe repelle et angeli tui sancti habitantes in ea nos in pace custodiant et benedictio tua sit super nos semper* (*Ordinarium*, 22 (§89); collectarium at 1st Sunday after Oct. Epi., f. 85v) / Termination: *Per dominum, etc.* / Response: *Amen*

Versicle and response: For friars: *Dominus vobiscum, etc.* For sisters: *Domine exaudi, etc.*

Versicle: *Benedicamus domino* / Response: *Deo gratias*

Benediction: *Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Patris et filii et Spiritus sancti descendat super nos et maneat semper* / Response: *Amen* (*Ordinarium*, 22 (§90); collectarium, f. 92v)

Procession

Processional antiphon: Salve regina misericordiae vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve ad te clamamus exsules filii Evae ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle eya ergo advocata nostra illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte et Jesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis post hoc exsilium ostende o clemens o pia o dulcis Maria (*Ordinarium*, 120 (§481); antiphoner, f. 370r)

Versicle: Dignare me laudare te virgo sacrata / Response: Da mihi virtutem contra hostes tuos (antiphoner, f. 370r)

Collect: Concede nos famulos tuos quaesumus domine Deus perpetua mentis et corporis salute gaudere et gloriosa beatae Mariae semper virginis intercessione a praesenti liberari tristitia et aeterna perfrui laetitia (*Ordinarium*, 121 (§481); collectarium, f. 82v)

Termination: Per dominum nostrum, etc. / Response: Amen

[later widespread addition, in Nuremberg on feasts of St. Dominic (St. Peter perg. 53a, f. 122v):

Antiphon: O lumen ecclesiae doctor veritatis rosa patientiae ebur castitatis aquam sapientiae propinasti gratis praedicator gratiae nos junge beatis

Versicle: Ora pro nobis beate Dominice / Response: Ut digni, etc.

Collect: Concede quaesumus omnipotens Deus ut qui peccatorum nostrorum pondere premimur beati Dominici confessoris tui patrocinio sublevemur / Termination: Per, etc. / Response: Amen]

Closing prayer: Fidelium animae, etc.

Silent: Pater noster, etc., and Credo in deum, etc. (“Liber const. fr.,” 37 (dist. 1, c. 1); “Liber const. sor.,” 339 (c. 1))

[Discipline after compline was not held on totum duplex feasts. (*Ordinarium*, 121 (§482); collectarium, f. 91r; St. Peter perg. 53a, f. 123r)]

Matins Outside of Paschal Time

Silent: Pater noster, etc., and Credo in deum, etc. (“Liber const. fr.,” 37 (dist. 1, c. 1); “Liber const. sor.,” 339 (c. 2))

Versicle: Domine labia mea aperies / Response: Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam (*Ordinarium*, 19 (§71); collectarium, f. 82v)

Versicle and response: Deus in adjutorium, etc.

Invitatory (proper): Assunt Dominici laeta sollemnia / Laude multiplici plaudat ecclesia (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363); antiphoner, f. 333r)

Psalm 94: Venite exsultemus, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 23 (§91); mode 4, pulpitarium, f. 445rv)

Hymn (proper): Novus athleta Domini, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363); hymnal in antiphoner, f. 374v–375r)

FIRST NOCTURN

3 Psalms (common of a confessor, *Ordinarium*, 90 (§363) and 111 (§458); psalter) with antiphons (proper, *Ordinarium*, 90 (§363); antiphoner, f. 333rv)

Antiphon incipit: Praeco

ps. 1: Beatus vir qui non abiit, etc.

Antiphon (proper): Praeco novus et caelicus missus in fine saeculi pauper fulsit Dominicus forma praevisus catuli

Antiphon incipit: Florem

ps. 2: Quare fremuerunt gentes, etc.

Antiphon (proper): Florem pudicitiae servans illibatam attigit eximiae vitae caelibatum

Antiphon incipit: Documentis

ps. 3: Domine quid multiplicati sunt, etc.
 Antiphon (proper): Documentis artium eruditus satis transiit ad studium summae veritatis
 Versicle (common of a confessor): Amavit eum dominus et ornavit eum / Response: Stola gloriae induit eum (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363); antiphoner, text: f. 365v, melody: f. 250r)
 Silent: Pater noster, etc., aloud: Et ne nos, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 23 (§91))
 Request for blessing: Jube, etc.
 Blessing: Benedictione perpetua benedicat nos pater aeternus / Response: Amen (collectarium, f. 83v)
 Lesson 1 (proper): Post transitum venerabilis patris Dominici, etc. (lectionary, f. 209r; *same set of lessons in large-format breviary from St. Katherine in Nuremberg: Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. V, 33, f. 79r*)
 Conclusion and response: Tu autem, etc.
 Responsory (proper to Dominic's primary feast): Mundum vocans ad agni nuptias hora cenae paterfamilias servum mittit / Promittens varias vitae delicias / Verse: Ad hoc convivium tam permagnificum elegit nuntium sanctum Dominicum / Repetenda: Promittens varias vitae delicias (*Ordinarium*, 91 (§363); antiphoner, f. 341v)
 Request for blessing: Jube, etc.
 Blessing: Unigenitus dei filius nos benedicere et adjuvare dignetur / Response: Amen
 Lesson 2 (proper): Deus autem omnipotens, etc.
 Conclusion and response: Tu autem, etc.
 Responsory (proper to Dominic's primary feast): Datum mundo pro mundi gloria mira Christi praesignat gratia / Cujus ortum praecurrunt nuntia veri praesagia / Verse: Stella micans in fronte parvuli novum jubar praemonstrat saeculi / Repetenda: Cujus ortum praecurrunt nuntia veri praesagia (antiphoner, f. 341v–342r)
 Request for blessing: Jube, etc.
 Blessing: Spiritus sancti gratia illuminare dignetur sensus et corda nostra / Response: Amen
 Lesson 3 (proper): Indignum nempe videbatur, etc.
 Conclusion and response: Tu autem, etc.
 Responsory (proper to Dominic's Translation): Fulget decus ecclesiae novo clarum prodigio lucerna splendet hodie diu latens sub modio / Quam odore rex gloriae revelavit eximio / Verse: O mira suavitas inauditae fragrantiae per quam patris dignitas declaratur ecclesiae / Repetenda: Quam, etc. / Verse: Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto / Repetenda: Quam, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 91 (§363), antiphoner, f. 333v)

SECOND NOCTURN

3 Psalms (common of a confessor) with antiphons (f. 342r)
 Antiphon incipit: Sub Augustini
 ps. 4: Cum invocarem, etc.
 Antiphon (proper): Sub Augustini regula mente profecit sedula tandem virum canonicum auget in apostolicum
 Antiphon incipit: Agonisans
 ps. 5: Verba mea, etc.
 Antiphon (proper): Agonisans pro Christi nomine mundum replet divino semine paupertatis degens sub tegmine
 Antiphon incipit: Pernox
 ps. 8: Domine dominus noster, etc.

Antiphon (proper): Pernox cum Christo proprium non possidebat lectulum post lacrimarum
fluvium vix humi dans corpusculum
Versicle (common of a confessor): Justum deduxit dominus per vias rectas / Response: Et ostendit
illi regnum dei (antiphoner, f. 366r)
Silent: Pater noster, etc. / Aloud: Et ne nos, etc.
Request for blessing: Jube, etc.
Blessing: Deus pater omnipotens sit nobis propitius et clemens / Response: Amen
Lesson 4 (proper): Statuta igitur hora, etc.
Conclusion and response: Tu autem, etc.
Responsory (proper to Dominic's primary feast): Paupertatis ascendens culmina clamat mundi
detestans crimina frangit hostes et fugat agmina / Nulla sanctum frangunt discrimina / Verse:
Nocte caeli perlustrans limina die terris dat verbi semina / Repetenda: Nulla sanctum, etc.
(antiphoner, f. 342r)
Request for blessing: Jube, etc.
Blessing: Ad gaudia paradisi perducatur nos misericordia Christi / Response: Amen
Lesson 5 (proper): O stupendum, etc.
Conclusion and response: Tu autem, etc.
Responsory (proper to Dominic's primary feast): Panis oblatus caelitus fratrum supplet inopiam /
Vitaque natus redditus matris pellit tristitiam / Verse: Signo crucis oboedit pluvia lingua verba
transformat varia / Repetenda: Vitaque, etc. (antiphoner, f. 342r)
Request for blessing: Jube, etc.
Blessing: Ignem sui amoris accendat dominus in cordibus nostris / Response: Amen
Lesson 6 (proper): Odor suavissimus, odor inenarrabilis, etc.
Conclusion and response: Tu autem, etc.
Responsory (proper to Dominic's Translation): Virgo pugil Christi virtutum forma fuisti verbo
fulsisti dum transferri meruisti / Fragrat odor dulces / Cantant caeli agmina laudes / Verse:
Regna tuis pande caeli doctor venerande / Repetenda: Fragrat, etc. / Verse: Gloria patri, etc. /
Repetenda: Cantant, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 91 (§363), antiphoner, f. 333v)

THIRD NOCTURN

3 Psalms (common of a confessor) with antiphons (antiphoner, f. 342r-v)
Antiphon incipit: Sitiebat
ps. 14: Domine quis habitabit, etc.
Antiphon (proper): Sitiebat servus Christi martyrium sicut sitit cervus ad aquae fluvium
Antiphon incipit: Migrans
ps. 20: Domine in virtute, etc.
Antiphon (proper): Migrans pater filiis vitae firmamentum paupertatis humilis condit
testamentum
Antiphon incipit: Liber carnis
ps. 23: Domini est terra, etc.
Antiphon (proper): Liber carnis vinculo caelum introivit ubi pleno poculo gustat quod sitivit
Versicle (common of a confessor): Justus ut palma florebit in domo domini / Response: Sicut
cedrus libani multiplicabitur (antiphoner, f. 366v)
Silent: Pater noster, etc. / Aloud: Et ne nos, etc.
Request for blessing: Jube, etc.
Blessing: Ille nos benedicat qui sine fine vivit et regnat / Response: Amen
Lesson 7 (proper): Erat autem odor ille, etc.

Conclusion and response: Tu autem, etc.

Responsory (proper to Dominic's primary feast): Felix vitis de cujus surculo tantum germen
redundat saeculo / Caeli vinum propinans populo vitali poculo / Verse: Ex ubertate palmitum
mundi jam cinxit ambitum / Repetenda: Caeli, etc. (f. 342v)

Request for blessing: Jube, etc.

Blessing: Divinum auxilium maneat semper nobiscum / Response: Amen

Lesson 8 (proper): Multi etiam de populo concurrente, etc.

Conclusion and response: Tu autem, etc.

Responsory (proper to Dominic's primary feast): Ascendenti de valle lubrici mundi chori
plaudunt angelici / Jesu bone prece Dominici tibi praesta nos gratos effici / Verse: Per quem
multos a morte suscitatis poenas nobis relaxa debitas / Repetenda: Jesu bone, etc. (f. 342v)

Request for blessing: Jube, etc.

Blessing: Ad societatem civium supernorum perducatur nos rex angelorum / Response: Amen

Lesson 9 (proper): Interfuerunt autem, etc.

Conclusion and response: Tu autem, etc.

Responsory (proper to Dominic's Translation): In odoris mira fragrantia populorum currit
frequentia / Ubi passim Christi clementia / Sana reddit membra languentia / Verse: Sidus
quondam oppressum nebula veri solis pandunt miracula / Repetenda: Ubi passim, etc. / Verse:
Gloria patri, etc. / Repetenda: Sana reddit, etc. (f. 333v)

Hymn: Te deum laudamus, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 72 (§287); psalter, f. 139v.)

Lauds

Versicle: Ora pro nobis beate Dominice / Response: Ut digni, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 19 (§71))

Versicle and response: Deus in adjutorium, etc.

4 Psalms and 1 Canticle (Sundays and All Feasts Simplex and Greater, *Ordinarium*, 69–70
(§273)) with proper antiphons (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363), antiphoner, f. 333v–334r.)

Antiphon incipit: Gemma

ps. 92: Dominus regnavit decorem, etc.

Antiphon: Gemma sub terra latuit despecto jacens loculo cujus virtus apparuit multiplici
miraculo

Antiphon incipit: Corpus

ps. 99: Jubilate deo omnis terra, etc.

Antiphon 2: Corpus sacrum quod fuerat apotheca charismatum universam exsuperat
fragrantiam aromatum

Antiphon incipit: Glebam

ps. 62 & 66: Deus deus meus ad te de luce vigilo, etc.

Antiphon 3: Glebam sacri corporis odor propalavit quam neglecti temporis cursus occultavit

Antiphon incipit: Tumba

Canticle: Benedicite omnia opera domini domino, etc. (Daniel 3:57–87, psalter, f. 137v)

Antiphon 4: Tumba mira fragrantia profundens vim odoris corda reddit ardentia in laudem
salvatoris

Antiphon incipit: Superans

ps. 148–50: Laudate dominum de caelis, etc.

Antiphon 5: Superans fragrantiam odor pigmentorum cumulum et gloriam monstrat
praemiorum

Capitulum (proper): Quasi stella matutina, etc. / Response: Deo gratias (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363);
collectarium, f. 85r)

Hymn (proper): Hymnum novae laetitiae, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363); hymnal in antiphoner, f. 375r)

Versicle (common of a confessor): Justus germinabit sicut liliu / Response: Et florebit in aeternu ante dominu (antiphoner, text: f. 367r, melody: f. 250r)

Antiphon (proper): O quantu stupor populi quanta fratrum laetitia dum loco sacri tumuli mira prodit fragrantia currunt senes et parvuli ad sancti beneficia (*Ordinarium*, 90 (§363); antiphoner, f. 334r)

Canticle: Benedictus dominus deus Israel, etc. (psalter, f. 138v)

Antiphon (proper): O quantu stupor populi, etc.

Versicle and response: For friars: Dominus vobiscum, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 21 (§78)) For sisters: *Domine exaudi*, etc.

Collect (proper): Deus qui ecclesiam, etc.

[Memoriae, if required: each = antiphon, versicle and response, collect]

Versicle and response: For friars: Dominus vobiscum, etc. For sisters: *Domine exaudi*, etc.

Versicle: Benedicamus domino / Response: Deo gratias

Closing prayer: Fidelium animae, etc.

Prime

Silent: Pater noster, etc. and Credo in deum, etc.

Versicle and response: Deus in adiutoriu, etc.

Hymn: Iam lucis, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 24 (§94); hymnal at 1st Sunday after Oct. Epi., f. 371v; totum duplex melody, f. 376v)

Psalms with 1 antiphon

Antiphon incipit: Gemma

ps. 53: Deus in nomine, etc.

ps. 118, 1–16: Beati immaculati, etc.

ps. 118, 17–32: Retribue, etc.

Antiphon (Lauds antiphon 1): Gemma sub terra, etc.

Capitulum (feast day): Regi saeculorum immortalis invisibili soli Deo honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum amen / Response: Deo gratias (*Ordinarium*, 24 (§96); collectarium at 1st Sunday after Oct. Epi., f. 83v)

Responsory and verse (seasonal): Jesu Christe fili dei vivi / Miserere nobis. / Verse: Qui sedes ad dexteram patris / Repetenda: Miserere nobis / Verse: Gloria patri, etc. / Repetenda: Jesu Christe, etc. (*Ordinarium*, 25 (§97); psalter at 1st Sunday after Oct. Epi., f. 108r and antiphoner, f. 267r)

Versicle: Exsurge domine adjuva nos / Response: Et libera nos propter nomen tuum (antiphoner at 1st Sunday after Oct. Epi., f. 267r; melody in antiphoner, f. 250r)

[Preces not said on totum duplex feasts.]

Confession (*Ordinarium*, 24 (§93))

Friars: as at compline

Sisters (*The sources from St. Katherine in Nuremberg consistently give the private version of confession for prime and the communal version of confession at compline. St. Peter perg. 53a, f. 91v*)

Confiteor Deo et beatae Mariae et beato Dominico et omnibus sanctis quia peccavi nimis cogitatione locutione opere et omissione mea culpa precor beatam Mariam et omnes sanctos orare pro me

Misereatur mei omnipotens Deus et dimittat mihi omnia peccata mea liberet me ab omni malo salvet et confirmet in omni opere bono et perducat ad vitam eternam. Amen.

Versicle and response: For friars: *Dominus vobiscum*, etc. *For sisters: Domine exaudi*, etc.
Collect (feast day): *In hac hora hujus diei tua nos domine reple misericordia ut per totam diem exultantes in tuis laudibus jugiter delectemur* / Termination: *Per*, etc. / Response: *Amen* (*Ordinarium*, 25 (§102); collectarium at 1st Sunday after Oct. Epi., f. 85v)
Versicle and response: For friars: *Dominus vobiscum*, etc. *For sisters: Domine exaudi*, etc.
Versicle: *Benedicamus domino* / Response: *Deo gratias*
Closing prayer: *Fidelium animae*, etc.

Terce

Silent: *Pater noster*, etc.
Versicle and response: *Deus in adjutorium*, etc.
Hymn: *Nunc sancte nobis spiritus*, etc. (hymnal at 1st Sunday after Oct. Epi., f. 371v)
Psalms with antiphon
Antiphon incipit: *Corpus*
ps. 118, 33–48: *Legem pone mihi*, etc.
ps. 118, 49–64: *Memor esto verbi*, etc.
ps. 118, 65–80: *Bonitatem fecisti cum servo tuo*, etc.
Antiphon (Lauds antiphon 2): *Corpus sacrum*, etc.
Capitulum (proper): *Quasi stella matutina*, etc. / Response: *Deo gratias*
Responsory (common of a confessor): *Amavit eum dominus / Et ornavit eum* / Verse: *Stola gloriae induit eum* / Repetenda: *Et ornavit eum* / Verse: *Gloria patri*, etc. / Repetenda: *Amavit*, etc. (psalter, f. 113r)
Versicle: *Justum deduxit dominus per vias rectas* / Response: *Et ostendit illi regnum dei* (psalter, f. 113r)
Versicle and response: For friars: *Dominus vobiscum*, etc. *For sisters: Domine exaudi*, etc.
Collect (proper): *Deus qui ecclesiam*, etc.
Versicle and response: For friars: *Dominus vobiscum*, etc. *For sisters: Domine exaudi*, etc.
Versicle: *Benedicamus domino* / Response: *Deo gratias*
Closing prayer: *Fidelium animae*, etc.

Sext

Silent: *Pater noster*, etc.
Versicle and response: *Deus in adjutorium*, etc.
Hymn: *Rector potens*, etc. (hymnal, f. 371v)
Psalms with antiphon
Antiphon incipit: *Glebam*
ps. 118, 81–96: *Defecit in salutare*, etc.
ps. 118, 97–112: *Quomodo dilexi legem tuam*, etc.
ps. 118, 113–128: *Iniquos odio habui*, etc.
Antiphon (Lauds antiphon 3): *Glebam sacri corporis*, etc.
Capitulum (proper): *Spiritus meus qui est in te et verba mea quae posui in ore tuo non recedent de ore tuo et de ore seminis tui dicit dominus amodo et usque in sempiternum* (Isaiah 59:21; collectarium, f. 85r) / Response: *Deo gratias*
Responsory (common of a confessor): *Justum deduxit dominus / Per vias rectas* / Verse: *Et ostendit illi regnum dei* / Repetenda: *Per vias rectas* / Verse: *Gloria patri*, etc. / Repetenda: *Justum deduxit*, etc.

Versicle: Justus ut palma florebit in domo domini / Response: Sicut cedrus libani multiplicabitur
Versicle and response: For friars: Dominus vobiscum, etc. *For sisters: Domine exaudi, etc.*
Collect (proper): Deus qui ecclesiam, etc.
Versicle and response: For friars: Dominus vobiscum, etc. *For sisters: Domine exaudi, etc.*
Versicle: Benedicamus domino / Response: Deo gratias
Closing prayer: Fidelium animae, etc.

None

Silent: Pater noster, etc.
Versicle and response: Deus in adiutorium, etc.
Hymn: Rerum deus tenax vigor, etc. (hymnal, f. 371v)
Psalms with antiphon
Antiphon incipit: Superans
ps. 118, 129–144: Mirabilia testimonia tua, etc.
ps. 118, 145–160: Clamavi in toto corde meo, etc.
ps. 118, 161–176: Principes persecuti sunt me, etc.
Antiphon (Lauds antiphon 5): Superans fragrantium, etc.
Capitulum (proper): Lex veritatis fuit in ore ejus et iniquitas non est inventa in labiis ejus in pace et in aequitate ambulavit mecum et multos avertit ab iniquitate (Malachi 2:6; collectarium, f. 85r) / Response: Deo gratias
Responsory and verse (common of a confessor): Justus ut palma florebit / In domo domini / Verse: Sicut cedrus libani multiplicabitur / Repetenda: In domo domini / Verse: Gloria patri, etc. / Repetenda: Justus ut palma, etc.
Versicle and response: Justus germinabit, etc. (antiphoner, f. 367r)
Versicle and response: For friars: Dominus vobiscum, etc. *For sisters: Domine exaudi, etc.*
Collect (proper): Deus qui ecclesiam, etc.
Versicle and response: For friars: Dominus vobiscum, etc. *For sisters: Domine exaudi, etc.*
Versicle: Benedicamus domino / Response: Deo gratias
Closing prayer: Fidelium animae, etc.

Second Vespers

Silent prayer: Pater noster, etc.
Versicle and response: Deus in adiutorium, etc.
Psalms with antiphon (*Ordinarium*, 70 (§273) and 71 (§283))
Antiphon incipit: Gemma
5 ferial psalms (see [Appendix 2](#))
Antiphon (Lauds antiphon 1): Gemma sub terra, etc.
Capitulum: Quasi stella matutina, etc. / Response: Deo gratias (as first vespers, *Ordinarium*, 90 (§363))
[No responsory at second vespers]
Hymn (proper): Gaude mater ecclesia, etc.
Versicle: Ora pro nobis beate Dominice / Response: Ut digni etc.
Antiphon (proper): O speculum munditiae carnis carens spurcitia tuae colentes hodie translationis gaudia transfer ad regnum gloriae post hujus vitae stadia (antiphoner, f. 334r)
Canticle: Magnificat anima mea, etc.
Antiphon: O speculum munditiae, etc.

Versicle and response: For friars: Dominus vobiscum, etc. *For sisters: Domine exaudi, etc.*

Collect (proper): Deus qui ecclesiam tuam, etc.

[Memoriae, if required: each = antiphon, versicle and response, collect]

Versicle and response: For friars: Dominus vobiscum, etc. *For sisters: Domine exaudi, etc.*

Versicle: Benedicamus domino / Response: Deo gratias

Closing prayer: Fidelium animae, etc.

Silent: Pater noster, etc.

APPENDIX 4

The German-Language Ordinarium Translations

The discussions presented in this appendix substantiate my claims of the relationships between the manuscripts and the dates of production I assign to the translations. I do not provide full paleographical and codicological descriptions. Such observations are only included when they serve to establish origin, provenance, and/or the relationships of the manuscript witnesses to each other. Fuller descriptions of the manuscripts and co-transmitted texts are available in the published catalogs. Many of these manuscripts have been digitized; links are in the bibliography.

Speyer

GÖTTINGEN, STAATS- UND UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK, 8^o COD. MS. THEOL. 236, FF. 108R–131V

The oldest attested German translation of the standard Dominican ordinarium survives in one codex.¹ This codex was bound together in the fifteenth century from three separate early fourteenth-century manuscripts, of which the ordinarium translation is the last in the volume. The other contents of the codex are also liturgical in nature, containing a selection of Latin matins lessons, some responsories and antiphons with musical notation, a Dominican hymnary, and the melodies for the *Venite exsultemus* (ps. 94) at matins. Before it was bound in its current late medieval binding, at least one quire was lost from the end of the ordinarium, and perhaps more. The text now cuts off partway through the lengthy chapter on the collects at mass, which was not translated and is still entirely in Latin. This regression into Latin at the end, among other features, suggests that the translation was made by a male confessor or vicar, who envisioned the heavy involvement of male celebrants, confessors, or chaplains in the liturgical administration of the convent using this ordinarium.

The portion of the codex with the ordinarium translation does not bear any provenance marks, but in the fifteenth century it was certainly owned by the Penitents of Mary Magdalene (Reuerinnen) called Hasenpfuhl in Speyer. The pastedowns of the book binding are fragments of indulgences granted to that community in the thirteenth century, and the first part of the codex (originally separate) closes with a partially obscured provenance mark: “This book is ... over the Hasenpfuhl outside the walls of Speyer. [*Iste liber est ... ultra Hasenphul extra muros Spirenses.*]”² The paleography of the hand (and the absence of Corpus Christi, although this should not be overly relied on) suggest a production date in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. This manuscript and

perhaps the translation itself were likely produced for Hasenpfehl when the convent was incorporated into the Dominican order in 1304.³

The translator thoroughly rendered most liturgical actors with feminine noun endings (e.g., *priorin*, *suppriorin*, *sengerin*), adjusting the language to the expected users. Male figures mentioned include a prior who is authorized to receive donors to the benefits of the order in lieu of the prioress, and the priest who celebrates mass for the convent.⁴ One passage references chaplains (*capilane*), who were priests—not necessarily belonging to the Dominican order—assigned to the spiritual care of Dominican women’s communities.⁵ Strangely, beginning with the chapter on when to sing the *Gloria in excelsis* at mass (§531), the chapter headings are given in German, but the contents are copied entirely in Latin up through where the manuscript breaks off.⁶ This is not the beginning of the section on mass—the chapters on scheduling masses (§514) through the chapter on the mass introit (§530) are all translated into German.⁷ Why the translator gave up translating here is something of a mystery and, because the conclusion is lost, it is now unknown whether the German picked up again at some later point.

One further feature of this translation bears comment because it reveals the translator’s understanding of this particular ordinarium’s purpose. The surviving office section has been gutted because all saints for whom there are no ceremonial instructions have been omitted, no matter how important they are. The Translation of Dominic, for example, is included for its instructions on the matins office when the feast falls within or outside of Paschal Time.⁸ However, Dominic’s main feast is entirely missing. Special instructions and rubrics were included, but otherwise the translator assumed that the person (sister?) organizing the liturgy was independently capable of pulling together the chants and readings from the various liturgical books without further instruction.

The absence of these feasts from the Speyer ordinarium translation highlights the original purpose of the standard Dominican ordinarium as a control mechanism. The order’s Latin ordinarium lists the incipits for all the chants of all the feasts so that it can be used to check accuracy and ensure uniformity in all houses throughout the order. However, the Dominican order promulgated standard books for performance, as well, and if a community possessed well-corrected copies of these, then the ordinarium lost some of its importance for ensuring uniformity. The Speyer translator operated on this principle, assuming that the community possessed accurate copies of the standard Dominican liturgical books for performance. This decision shows that he expected the community’s chantresses to be, if not expert, at least competent enough to use the books for performance efficiently. Only for feasts like the Translation of Dominic, which had seasonal variations, were the ordinarium’s instructions necessary. It is a pity that the mass half of this translation does not survive because it would be interesting to see how the translator handled Dominic’s mass, which was not contained straightforwardly in the gradual but rather needed to be sourced from multiple sections.

Colmar

COLMAR, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, MS. 411 (NR. 301)

The Colmar translation also survives in only one codex.⁹ Several quires were lost from the end of the codex after it was bound in its current binding, leaving a visible gap at the back of the volume. The text now breaks off in the middle of mass for the Thursday before Passion Sunday (two weeks before Easter) so that, unfortunately, all of the special rituals for Easter Week (the Palm Sunday procession, the altar washing and mandatum on Thursday, the Adoration of the Cross on Friday) have been lost, as well as the entire Sanctorale for the mass section of the ordinarium. Nevertheless, more than half of the ordinarium survives, leaving enough details to make some grounded conjectures about the context of the translation. A number of unique idiosyncrasies in the German suggest that the translation was undertaken sometime in the fourteenth century by a friar in order to serve a

community of Dominican sisters. Although there are no surviving colophons or provenance marks within the codex as it stands, it almost certainly belonged to the Dominican convent of Unterlinden in Colmar.

The most recent catalog assigns the ordinarium text the date range 1326–70 on the basis of the saints included in the office section.¹⁰ This range can be narrowed further with a closer examination of the same evidence. All of the feasts added to the Dominican liturgy up to and including Thomas Aquinas (confirmed 1326) are represented in the manuscript.¹¹ This *terminus post quem* can be nudged forward another year because the rubrics for the feast of Corpus Christi include instructions for scheduling conflicts with the feast of St. Barnabas and the Translation of Dominic, confirmed by the general chapter in 1327.¹² This passage does not include the further instructions about the Corpus Christi octave, confirmed in 1358.¹³ Restricting the date yet further, none of the saints whose feasts were added after 1327 are included; not Servatius (1332), nor Martial (1336), nor Adalbert or Procopius (both 1355).¹⁴ This produces a very narrow date range of five years (1327–32).

I caution against relying overly much on the contents of the ordinarium to date the manuscript or even the translation. As is clear from the Latin-language Würzburg ordinarium discussed in [Chapter 3](#), updates pursuant to new legislation could be sporadic or forgotten. Thus, the Latin source manuscript for this German translation was an ordinarium representing the official status between 1327 and 1332, but we cannot be certain that the German translation was undertaken during this five-year window; it may have been done later from an outdated exemplar. If this is indeed the correct date range for the translation of the ordinarium, this is fairly surprising, as it falls very close in time to the composition of the Unterlinden sister book. This collection was composed in Latin in the first quarter of the fourteenth century by Katharina of Gueberschwihr (Gebersweiler), a sister of Unterlinden and perhaps identical with the prioress attested by that name.¹⁵ This sister book demonstrates a high level of Latin fluency, raising the question why a German translation of the ordinarium might have been needed.

The translation was most likely undertaken by a member of the Colmar friary for the use of the sisters in Unterlinden, who were entrusted to their spiritual care. Two idiosyncrasies of translation practice set the Colmar ordinarium apart from all other surviving German-language ordinaria and undergird the probability that the translation was made by a friar. First, the Colmar manuscript is the only translation that routinely retains the word brothers (*brüder*) to translate “*fratres*” rather than replacing it with the word sisters (*schwester*) to accommodate the gender of the anticipated users. Similarly, the translator often chose masculine grammatical forms for the officers and administrators mentioned, such as the prior (*priol*), cantor (*senger*), and hebdomadarian (*wochener*).¹⁶ However, this principle is far from consistent. In certain passages, the text contains only feminine noun forms; for example, the passage describing the chantress’s duties refers to sisters (*swester*), the chantress (*sengerin*), and the subchantress (*vndersengerin*).¹⁷ Still other passages inclusively refer to “friars or sisters [brüdere oder swesteren]” and “cantor or chantress [senger oder sengerin].”¹⁸ Moreover, the gender of the nouns is not consistent even within the same passage. For example, the rubrics for the Office of the Dead consistently refer to “friars or sisters” and “cantor or chantress,” but they use only the masculine forms for prior and hebdomadarian.¹⁹ The frequent fluctuation in the gender of the nouns conveys the impression that the translator attempted to adapt his work for a female audience but did not make a conscious decision in advance about how to accomplish this, and, because he lived in a world occupied solely by men, he kept forgetting to use feminine noun forms.

The survival of masculine noun forms is not this translation’s only idiosyncrasy. The Colmar translator is also the only one who attempted to render the technical designations for the ranks of feast into German. All other German-language ordinaria retained the Latin terms simplex, semiduplex, duplex, and totum duplex as technical liturgical jargon. Even the surviving liturgical documents compiled and copied by women unproblematically use the Latin liturgical jargon for the

ranks of feast. The Colmar translator, in contrast, rendered the ranks of feast as onefold (*einualtig*), one-and-a-half-fold (*anderhalpueltig*), twofold (*zweiueltig*), and really twofold (*zemäle zweiueltig*).²⁰ The translation overkill suggests that a friar who was not (yet) familiar with his readership's level of liturgical knowledge and expertise tried to accommodate an expected low level of familiarity with Latin terminology.

Zurich

The Zurich translation survives in one fragment and three manuscripts, two of which have a direct connection to that city. The language bears some Swiss markers, most prominently the consistent use of *tult* for the word *feast*.²¹ Although it cannot be determined whether the translator was a friar or a sister, all three manuscripts bear witness, either directly or indirectly, to the involvement of men in the dissemination of the text.

MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, CGM 168

The earliest witness is a fourteenth-century manuscript that, according to Wolfram Schneider-Lastin, was “very probably” made for or perhaps by the sisters of Oetenbach near Zurich.²² This postulation derives from the fact that its medieval binding used fragments from charters localizable to Zurich, one of which (dated 1355) named the Oetenbach prioress Mechthild Störi.²³ Unfortunately, these fragments are now lost, since the volume was rebound in the nineteenth century.²⁴ At some point in the late fourteenth century, this codex was donated to another convent by a “priest Albrecht,” who had been the chaplain at the Dominican convent in Stetten near Hechingen.²⁵ The nineteenth-century manuscript description states that this codex had been owned by the sisters of Medingen near Dillingen; it may be that this convent was the beneficiary of Albrecht's gift.²⁶

How, precisely, this manuscript traveled from Oetenbach to Stetten to Medingen is not clear, but its origin in Zurich is confirmed by the list of local saints added in the main hand at the end. This list includes not only saints common to the diocese of Constance, in which both Zurich and Stetten lay (e.g., Conrad and Gallus) but also saints specific to Zurich (Verena, Theodolus, and Charlemagne).²⁷ The marginal annotation for Ulrich might have been added in Medingen, which lay in the diocese of Augsburg, where Ulrich was specially venerated.²⁸ Not the presence of Albrecht's name in a donor colophon, nor the likelihood of Oetenbach as the site of origin, nor anything else in the manuscript in its current state furnishes solid evidence for the gender of the translator. It is just as likely to have been undertaken by an Oetenbach sister as by the community's confessor, chaplain, or a local friar.

The state of the ordinarium text suggests that, like the Colmar manuscript, the Zurich redaction was translated from a document with legislative adjustments up to the late 1320s, although the updates are less regular than in the Colmar translation. Mass for Corpus Christi (confirmed 1323) is not located where it belongs after Trinity Sunday but rather at the end, heading up the list of additional saints.²⁹ It is not possible to tell whether the Office for Corpus Christi had been incorporated in its appropriate place, as an entire quire is missing from the office section, such that the text skips from Maundy Thursday to the feast of St. Ignatius (February 1).³⁰ The instructions for the weekly observances for Dominic, also found at the end of the manuscript, do not specify Tuesday but merely “some free day” and thus likely predate the legislation of the 1360s that set Tuesday as Dominic's day.³¹ It may have been inspired by the ordinances released by the general chapter almost every year between 1314 and 1324 to commemorate Dominic once a week and Peter Martyr every other week.³²

The updates in the Sanctorale are reminiscent of the Latin Würzburg ordinarium in their irregularity. Both the office and mass for Thomas Aquinas (confirmed in 1326) are included in the main body of the Sanctorale.³³ Of the saints introduced before 1320, only Martha (1276) and Alexius

(1307) are represented in both the office and mass portions of the ordinarium.³⁴ Edward (1265) is only in the office portion, whereas Anthony of Padua (1262) and Louis (1301) are only in the section for mass.³⁵ Mass for Wenceslas (1298) is the very last entry made by the main hand, closing the list of local saints appended to the very end of the text.³⁶ All of the feasts added by the general chapter up to and including Corpus Christi (1323) and Thomas Aquinas (1326) are present in some way, but some only with a mass and some only appended at the end. This version was thus likely translated from a Latin ordinarium that had been haphazardly updated and the translator was not entirely successful in bringing the text up to date during the translation process.

EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK, COD. 744/986

The youngest witness of the Zurich translation was owned by the unincorporated convent of St. Verena in Zurich.³⁷ Just as the oldest Munich witness was transferred between convents by the chaplain Albrecht, men were involved in transmitting this copy. The bulk of the manuscript was produced by a Dominican friar, attested in a Latin colophon with an unusual amount of detail about the scribe: “Here ends the ordinarium, written by me, Friar Johannes Höfflin, of the Freiburg friary, lector in the Zurich friary, finished on St. Elizabeth’s Day in the year 1477. [Explicit hec notula Scripta per me fratrem johannem höfflin conuentus friburgensis, lectorem conuentus thuricensis, et finita in die Sancte Elyzabeth Anno domini m cccc lxxvij.]”³⁸ An addition containing instructions for scheduling matins lessons during autumn Ordinary Time also includes a date and a friar’s name: “Frater Johannes Schön Anno 1488.”³⁹ Johannes Schön appears in Martina Wehrli-Johns’s list of Zurich friars with the earliest attestation dated to 1490.⁴⁰ The 1488 colophon is close enough in time that this is likely the same person. The main scribe, Johannes Höfflin, does not appear in her list, nor is his appointment to Zurich as lector recorded in the acts of the general chapter.⁴¹ The heavy involvement of friars is not surprising, as the community of St. Verena was literally just around the corner from the Dominican friary in Zurich and, as Wehrli-Johns has shown, the friars provided spiritual care for the sisters of St. Verena, even though the convent was never formally incorporated into the order.⁴² Höfflin likely knew about the Oetenbach ordinarium translation, as both convents stood under the spiritual care of the Zurich Dominican friars.

Compared to the Oetenbach/Medingen witness, the St. Verena copy is better updated but not by much. Whereas the oldest manuscript only contains Mass for Corpus Christi in the appendix at the end, the St. Verena copy integrated Corpus Christi into its proper place in both the office and the mass portions of the ordinarium.⁴³ However, the instructions for the octave of Trinity Sunday were not adjusted to accommodate Corpus Christi interrupting the octave on Thursday. Höfflin also added masses for Servatius (1332), Martial (1336), and the Feast of the Visitation (1401/23) to the “local” list at the end, following the Zurich saints Charlemagne, Theodolus, and Verena.⁴⁴ However, it lacks not only the 1423 Schism legislation but also the older feasts, such as the Translation of Thomas Aquinas (confirmed 1374). By the time this manuscript was copied in 1477, this text was extremely out of date.

NUREMBERG, STADTBIBLIOTHEK IM BILDUNGSCAMPUS, COD. CENT. VII, 76, FF. 1R–145V

One surviving copy of the Zurich translation was owned by the convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg, where it was copied by a single sister.⁴⁵ That this copy of the Zurich translation was produced for St. Katherine in Nuremberg is clear from the inclusion of local Nuremberg saints Emperor Henry II, Empress Kunigunde, and Sebald in the main body of the text, rather than in a list at the end.⁴⁶ The Zurich saints found at the end of the Oetenbach/Medingen and St. Verena manuscripts were not copied into the Nuremberg witness. Ritual instructions were also occasionally adapted to local circumstance, such as the chapter on daytime matins (*Tagesmetten*), which explains

that the practice in Nuremberg differed from the centralized regulations of the Dominican order (see [Chapter 6](#)). This manuscript was most likely produced in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, although a more precise dating is difficult because the inclusion of new feasts is spotty.

The Nuremberg manuscript contains a fairly current set of order-wide feasts, in addition to the local observances. This witness provides the most fully updated instructions for Corpus Christi—namely that the Trinity octave be observed as normal on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, but that it receive only a *memoria* from Thursday on.⁴⁷ Although the Feast of the Conception/Sanctification is missing (confirmed 1397 in the Roman Obedience), the Marian feasts of the Visitation and the Presentation are included where they belong in both the office and the mass sections.⁴⁸ Other new or local feasts whose complete liturgies are present in their proper place include the Apparition of Michael, the Ten Thousand Martyrs, the Eleven Thousand Virgins with the sequence *Virginalis turma* (Analecta Hymnica 55 Nr. 333), all of which were part of the Schism legislation confirmed in 1423.⁴⁹ Barbara, the Translation of Aquinas, Servatius, Martial, Wenceslas, and Edward have their office in the correct location, but their mass appended at the end.⁵⁰ Adalbert, Peter Martyr's Translation, and Anne with the sequence *Salve Anna* (Analecta Hymnica 44 Nr. 38) each only have a mass (in its proper place) and do not appear in the office section of the manuscript.⁵¹ (Including a sequence for St. Anne conforms to the general chapter's mandate in 1465 that she be celebrated at the rank of *totum duplex*.⁵² Sequences were sung at mass only for *totum duplex* feasts.) There is nothing at all for Vincent Ferrer (canonized 1455). Curiously, the offices for the Translation of Aquinas and the Feast of the Visitation are repeated at the end of the manuscript; perhaps the exemplar from which this manuscript was copied contained these feasts as appendixes and the scribe forgot that she had already incorporated them earlier in the manuscript. Nevertheless, this manuscript's updates are not as comprehensive as those of the Latin ordinarium copied for the same community around the same time (Cod. Cent. VII, 17, discussed in [Chapter 3](#)).

Unlike the other witnesses of the Zurich translation, this text flags legislative changes with references to the general chapter. For example, both the Oetenbach/Medingen and the St. Verena manuscripts still stipulate that the Little Office of the Virgin is said outside the choir.⁵³ The Nuremberg manuscript contains a correction: "One should say the daily Office of the Virgin all in the choir, that was ordered by the chapter. [Man sol vnnsen frawen teglich ampt sprechen alles in dem chor, das hat man in dem capitel geordinirt.]"⁵⁴ Indeed, as part of the reunification legislation, the general chapter mandated that all hours of the Little Office be sung in the choir, except for matins, to be sung in the dormitory. It is not certain whether omitting the mention of the dormitory from the Nuremberg manuscript is an intentional adjustment for the sisters or a simple oversight.⁵⁵

One passage was inserted in the wrong place, indicating that the adjustments were made from a separate list of the general chapter's legislation. Between St. Crisogonus (November 24) and St. Katherine of Alexandria (November 25) sits a note regarding two minor saints: "One sings the *memoria* for the holy martyrs Processus and Martinian on the day after Our Lady's Presentation. At matins, the antiphon: *Isti sunt*, the versicle *Mirabilis deus*, and in the mass with their collect. The general chapter ordered this. [Die memoria der heiligen martyrum processi vnd martiniani singt man an dem nechsten tage nach vnser frawen presentacio. In der metten, an: *Jsti sunt*, v: *Mirabilis deus*, vnd in der messe mit ir collect. Dz hat dz capitel geordinirt.]"⁵⁶ This note has been added in the general vicinity of the Marian Feast of the Presentation, which was celebrated on November 21. The Presentation, however, is not the Marian feast referred to by the general chapter's legislation. Processus and Martinian had traditionally been celebrated with a *memoria* on July 2, and the general chapter had permanently moved them to the following day in order to accommodate the new Marian feast of the Visitation, not the Presentation. The surviving acts of the Roman Obedience explicitly mention this adjustment, and it was apparently confirmed in the 1423 reunification legislation.⁵⁷ The erroneous insertion of Processus and Martinian in late November, rather than in July, suggests that

the adjustment was not made from marginal annotations to an existing ordinarium but rather from an independent list of liturgical changes copied from legislative protocols. The scribe may have misunderstood which new Marian feast displaced Processus and Martinian and inattentively inserted the legislation in the general area of the wrong Marian feast.

POSSIBLE TRANSMISSION OF THE ZURICH TRANSLATION

The extant Nuremberg manuscript of the Zurich translation was certainly produced in Nuremberg from an exemplar that the sisters obtained from elsewhere. However, there are two wholly plausible paths of transmission for their source. It is even quite likely that the sisters received a copy of the Zurich translation through both avenues. If this is so, then the community of St. Katherine in Nuremberg at one point owned no fewer than three separate copies of the Zurich ordinarium translation, two they had received and one they had made.

The ordinarium brought to the convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg at the time of their reform was probably the Zurich translation. The surviving library catalog lists a copy of the ordinarium (*unsers orden notel*) under the shelf mark G. II. This manuscript has unfortunately been lost, but it clearly formed the first part of a set with G. III and G. IIII, as all three were copied by Margareta Karteuserin, the reform chantress who had come from Schönensteinbach.⁵⁸ Both G. III and G. IIII survive and are, respectively, a Temporale and a Sanctorale directorium (Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Cent. VII, 89 and VI, 43y; see [Appendix 5](#)). An entry in the Temporale directorium reveals that the partnered ordinarium contained the Zurich translation. The passage notes: “In our German ordinarium, this is written about the lessons: One should note where the lessons of the Temporale are indicated on their particular day. [An vnserm tewtzschen notel stot also von den leccen geschriben: Man sol mercken wo die leccen von der zeit gezeichnet sind an ir gewissen tag.]”⁵⁹ The following passage is a verbatim quote of translated lectionary rubrics, which appear in all three surviving manuscripts of the Zurich translation but are not included in any other translation.⁶⁰ Since the directorium was developed in Schönensteinbach, the ordinarium brought from Schönensteinbach by Margareta Karteuserin therefore most likely contained the Zurich translation.

The picture is complicated by a fragment associated with St. Katherine in Nuremberg, which suggests that the convent received a second copy of the Zurich translation through Bern. A sheet containing instructions for totum duplex feasts, identifiably from the Zurich ordinarium translation, now survives as the limp binding for a codex containing German translations of the Augustinian rule and the Dominican constitutions for sisters, together with the Observant reform ordinances for St. Katherine (Cologne, Bibliothek St. Albertus Magnus, MS 29).⁶¹ This fragment, however, was definitely not copied in Margareta Karteuserin’s distinctive hand and therefore cannot be identified as a fragment from the missing codex with the medieval library signature G. II. It is conceivable that a second sister collaborated with Karteuserin to produce the ordinarium, but the existence of this very different fragment also raises the possibility of a second transmission path.

The community of St. Katherine in Nuremberg likely received this (later scrapped) copy along with the set of books sent to them by Friar Johannes Meyer from the convent of St. Michael in Bern. This source for the Cologne fragment is suggested by several pieces of circumstantial evidence. First, the convent of St. Michael’s Island in Bern acquired a German-language ordinarium during or shortly before Johannes Meyer’s tenure there as confessor (1454–57). The Bern convent chronicle records that Meyer and Prioress Anna of Sissach obtained already translated versions of key governance documents, including not only the Augustinian rule but also “the ordinarium or *rubrica* of the order in German [die nottel oder ruberick des ordens ze teutzsche].”⁶² Unfortunately, the chronicle does not record their source for these documents.

Second, another surviving text was demonstrably transmitted from Oetenbach through Bern to Nuremberg in the mid-fifteenth century—namely, the *vita* of Oetenbach sister Margareta Stülingerin. After this sister’s death in 1449, a group of Oetenbach sisters, spearheaded by a certain Anna, decided to gather and record anecdotes and examples of Margareta’s virtues. As Meyer explains in the *vita*’s epilogue, “Once they had completed this, they sent it to me and requested that I diligently and with the help of Sister Anna of Sissach, the prioress of the convent of St. Michael’s Island whose confessor I was at the time, arrange it into a proper form, and this we did. [Do es von jnen volbracht was, do santen sy mir es vnd begerten das ich mit fleiß vnd mit hilf Swester Anna von Sissach der priorin des closters jn sant michels jnsel der beichtiger ich do zermal was, richten were zu einer rechten form, vnd das hand wir getan.]”⁶³ Because the Oetenbach sisters were sending other texts to Meyer and Prioress Anna of Sissach, it is plausible that Oetenbach was also the source of the “nottel oder ruberick” that the Bern convent acquired during the same period.

Linking the chain of transmission to Nuremberg, both the *vita* of Margareta Stülingerin and the Bern convent chronicle survive in a single manuscript (Wrocław, University Library, Cod. IV F 194a), which was copied by a sister of St. Katherine in Nuremberg likely before 1460.⁶⁴ These texts are among several that St. Katherine received from St. Michael in Bern, famously also including Johannes Meyer’s *Book of Duties*, their own copy of which the Nuremberg sisters completed in July 1458.⁶⁵ It has been noted in scholarship on other texts belonging to this group that the Nuremberg community does not seem to have returned the books to Bern, nor do the originals survive.⁶⁶ The Cologne ordinarium fragment used for a limp parchment binding may hint at the fates of the Bern manuscripts as a group.

The most plausible scenario for the dissemination of the Zurich translation is that, although the Oetenbach/Medingen manuscript left Zurich already in the fourteenth century, the sisters of Oetenbach retained a copy that they were still using in the late fifteenth century. The text circulated in the region and somehow found its way to Schönensteinbach. When St. Katherine in Nuremberg was reformed to the Observance in 1428, Sister Margareta Karteuserin brought along a copy of the Zurich translation to help her in her duties as chantress in her new home. Then, in the 1450s, Oetenbach sent a copy of its ordinarium to St. Michael’s Island in Bern at the request of the new reform prioress, Anna of Sissach. Shortly after receiving it from Oetenbach, the Bern community sent the Zurich translation to Nuremberg, along with other attested texts. In 1477, Johannes Höfflin copied Oetenbach’s ordinarium for the local Zurich community of St. Verena.

Finally, in the late 1450s or 1460s, the Nuremberg sisters produced a new copy of the ordinarium, updating it with local feasts and Nuremberg peculiarities. The exemplar for this manuscript could easily have been either the copy from Schönensteinbach or the one from Bern. The Schönensteinbach exemplar was added to the convent library under the shelf mark G. II, while the Bern exemplar was destroyed and recycled as binding material. This potential reconstruction of the transmission history of the Zurich translation suggests that it was fairly widespread and that a significant number of witnesses have been lost.

Nuremberg

By the time the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg produced their own copy of the Zurich ordinarium translation, they already owned (at least) one other translation. This Nuremberg translation is securely attributable to a friar, since St. Katherine’s convent library catalog records the volume as a gift from Friar Georg Falder-Pistoris, indicating that it was translated either by himself or by another friar from the Nuremberg community. The single hand that copied this manuscript does not, according to Karin Schneider, belong to Georg Falder-Pistoris himself.⁶⁷ Two manuscripts of this translation survive.

The earlier witness is the very copy that Friar Georg Falder-Pistoris gave to St. Katherine in Nuremberg.⁶⁸ It still bears the medieval library signature G. I at the top of folio 2r, as well as provenance marks at both the beginning and the end of the codex.⁶⁹ The entry for G. I in Sister Kunigunde Niklasin's 1455 library catalog recorded: "Item, a book in a limp binding; it contains the ordinarium [notel] of our order. Father Georg Falder gave it to us. [Item ein puch in eym conpert; das helt in im unsers orden notel. Das hat uns vater Jörg Valdner geben.]"⁷⁰ This description corresponds precisely to both the contents and the binding of the surviving manuscript, and furthermore the translation self-designates as a *notula* in the explicit.⁷¹

Falder-Pistoris became the prior of the Nuremberg friary after Johannes Nider left to reform Basel in 1429 and, in this capacity, he also exercised oversight over the newly Observant convent of St. Katherine. He translated (or commissioned translations of) several texts that he considered essential for running a Dominican community, including the Augustinian rule, the Dominican constitutions, and Humbert of Romans's commentary on the rule. His ordinarium translation belongs to this set of administrative documents. The translation of the Augustinian rule is dated to 1431 in a colophon transmitted in all manuscripts of this version, but Falder-Pistoris's translation program may have begun earlier. In the letter that Johannes Nider sent to recruit a reforming party from Schönsteinbach, he mentioned that the friars in Nuremberg had already taken over liturgical responsibilities with the sisters.⁷² It is possible that the ordinarium translation was already begun, if not completed, during this preparatory stage of the reform in 1428. Whatever the precise date, Falder-Pistoris produced or commissioned the ordinarium translation in order to provide the newly Observant convent of St. Katherine with the tools it needed to observe the order's practices strictly.

Seen in this context, this German-language ordinarium is shockingly divergent and flawed, especially considering that it was undertaken seven or eight years after the compilation of the 1421 *correctura* by the same community of friars in which that document originated. Unlike the Latin ordinarium produced in Nuremberg in the 1460s (Cod. Cent. VII, 17), which incorporated many of the *correctura*'s updates and recommendations, this German ordinarium lacks many of the new feasts. Similar to the Würzburg Latin ordinarium, the scattered feasts that do appear attest to sporadic and haphazard updating. More curiously, this translation contains a much expanded discussion of the chantress's duties, some of which is drawn from Humbert of Romans's *Book of Duties* and some of which appears to be original.⁷³

Some of the irregularities in the saints' feasts correspond, unsurprisingly, to the later (better updated) Nuremberg Latin ordinarium and the differences in the Sanctorale seem largely limited to omissions. For example, both this ordinarium and the later Latin one contain a full nine-lesson office for Elisabeth of Hungary (*Laetare Germania*).⁷⁴ This office represents either local veneration or an astoundingly tenacious pre-Humbertian tradition. The acts of the general chapter in 1243 recorded that both the Eleven Thousand Virgins and Elisabeth of Hungary should be celebrated at the rank of nine lessons—that is, simplex.⁷⁵ However, the liturgy propagated by Humbert of Romans a decade later only accorded a *memoria* to both feasts.⁷⁶ The Eleven Thousand Virgins were upgraded to three lessons in 1331 and, within the Roman Obedience, to totum duplex in 1410.⁷⁷ In contrast, attempts to elevate Elisabeth of Hungary to three lessons failed twice in the fourteenth century and she technically still should only have been celebrated with a *memoria* in the fifteenth century.⁷⁸ The transmission of the office *Laetare Germania* in the Nuremberg ordinaria may represent a pre-Humbertian holdover motivated by local piety.

In addition, two unsanctioned Marian feasts present in other Nuremberg liturgica are also found in this version—namely, the feast of the Presentation and the feast of the Conception. The latter had been formally approved by both Obediences during the Western Schism, but it should have been

called the “Sanctification.”⁷⁹ The Dominican general chapter did not mandate the feast of Mary’s Presentation throughout the entire order until 1518.⁸⁰ Elisabeth of Hungary and the Marian feasts of the Presentation and Conception were widespread feasts, but the manner of celebrating them found in the Nuremberg translation was not sanctioned by the Dominican order. It is worth emphasizing the broad geographical scope of these feasts because the Bamberg patrons (Emperor Henry II and Empress Kunigunde) and Nuremberg’s local patron (Sebald) are missing.

In general, the set of saints’ feasts is fairly haphazard and attests to sporadic and partial updating of the kind seen in the marginalia of the Würzburg ordinarium. The office section of the Sanctorale includes Anthony of Padua (1262), Martha (1276), Martial (1336), Adalbert (1355), the Translation of Thomas Aquinas (1372), Barbara (1423), and the Visitation (1401/23).⁸¹ Of these newly introduced saints, the mass section only includes Martha, Adalbert, and the Visitation.⁸² This set of saints is incomplete in some very odd ways. For example, the office for the Translation of Aquinas is included but nothing at all for his main feast. It is notable that, of the numerous feasts added in 1423, only Barbara is present (in a marginal annotation), while the Apparition of Michael and the Ten Thousand Martyrs are absent. Similarly, although Anthony of Padua and Martha are included, the other thirteenth-century additions (Edward, Wenceslas, and Louis IX) are missing.

Although the Sanctorale is significantly deficient, this version of the ordinarium does accommodate the major fourteenth-century changes (the feast of Corpus Christi and the Tuesday observances for Dominic) in their appropriate places.⁸³ Furthermore, in accordance with the legislation passed during the Schism by the Roman Obedience, the instructions for Tuesday mass for Dominic include the sequence *Laudes ergo*.⁸⁴

It seems that the Nuremberg friars translated for the newly Observant convent of St. Katherine the ordinarium that they (the friars) used. However, this ordinarium was quite faulty in ways similar to those in the Würzburg ordinarium, and they had not yet revised it in accordance with the *correctura* as seen in the later Latin Nuremberg ordinarium. No wonder the sisters preferred the Zurich translation.

MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, CGM 62

The second copy of the Nuremberg ordinarium translation contains the same text, although it is not certain whether it was made directly from the surviving Nuremberg manuscript or from an intermediate copy, now lost.⁸⁵ The Nuremberg manuscript bears frequent corrections and annotations in the margins. The Munich manuscript contains the corrected state of the text. Its provenance is unknown, but it was very likely transmitted from St. Katherine in Nuremberg to another convent in the context of the Observant reform.

Freiburg

The fifth German translation of the Dominican ordinarium is found in three manuscripts that form by far the most interesting set. These copies contain the most up-to-date selection of officially approved saints and feasts, including very late additions such as Vincent Ferrer (1455), Catherine of Siena (1461), and the feast of the Transfiguration (1465).⁸⁶ They also contain the most complete set of non-ordinarium rubrics, including instructions for altar servers and for receiving communion, although the manuscripts do not all share the same texts. The extant codices do not reveal anything about the conditions under which the translation was originally produced. Reconstructing the origin and transmission history is further hindered by the thoroughness with which the Sanctorale sections were updated, combined with what we know about how poorly maintained Latin ordinaria sometimes were. For example, the fact that two manuscripts in this group entirely lack instructions for the Tuesday observances for Dominic does not necessarily mean that the translation was undertaken

prior to 1364; it may have been done at a later date from a Latin exemplar that had not been updated. The location of the original translation is similarly hard to pinpoint. I identify this set as the Freiburg translation because two of the three surviving manuscripts are connected to that city. However, it may well have been translated in Strasbourg, where the text with the most extensive set of regional saints can be located.

KARLSRUHE, BADISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK, ST. PETER PERG. 31

The Strasbourg witness of the Freiburg translation contains a provenance mark from the convent of Weiler near Esslingen, but the text it contains was not designed for use at Weiler.⁸⁷ Instead, the constellation of saints points to St. Marx in Strasbourg. That the convent's patron was St. Mark is indicated by the inclusion of the Translation of Mark with both a full office and a mass with the sequence *Omnis aetas*.⁸⁸ Strasbourg is suggested by the collection of local Strasbourg saints, including Alban, Arbogast, Attala, Florence, Aurelia, and Gallus.⁸⁹ This manuscript's constellation of new feasts confirmed by the Dominican general chapter is extremely spotty, but it does include both office and mass for the feast of the Visitation (1401/23), as well as mass for the Apparition of Michael (1423) and for St. Anne (1465–68).⁹⁰ If this manuscript was indeed produced after this date (which is not certain, as Anne's feast might represent local piety), then it must have changed hands fairly soon thereafter.⁹¹ In 1475, several of the Dominican convents located outside the city walls of Strasbourg were relocated within the city in order to protect the sisters from the ravages of the Burgundian Wars. In this process, St. Marx was merged with the likewise displaced community of St. John.⁹² It is conceivable that St. John also owned a German-language ordinarium and that St. Marx's ordinarium was passed on or sold because it was superfluous in the new merged community.⁹³ This ordinarium's most likely path to Weiler would have been three years later, when sisters from the (now also merged) convent of St. Margaret and St. Agnes in Strasbourg traveled to reform Weiler to the Observance in 1478.⁹⁴

This manuscript also witnesses to a reforming practice—namely, that older manuscripts were supplemented with newer material in preparation to be sent with a reform party. Oddly, in the case of this ordinarium, the “newer” material consists not of the saints and feasts confirmed by the general chapters in the interim since the manuscript was produced but, rather, of large and essential sections of the original ordinarium text that had been omitted when it was first copied. Some of these omissions make a certain amount of sense; for example, both the general instructions that precede the office *Sanctorale* and those that open the section on the mass are missing, suggesting that the scribe did not think the community needed such general rubrics. The omitted chapters include, for example, guidelines for resolving conflicting feasts; general instructions for the different ranks of feast; the order of *memoriae*; instructions for censuring; ceremonies for the *Salve regina* procession and for taking discipline after compline; lists of which days have two masses and on which feasts to sing the *Gloria in excelsis*; and clarification on how to handle the mass chants of the gradual, alleluia, and tract at various times of the year. This is not an exhaustive list, but it should reveal how important many of the omitted ceremonies are. Less comprehensible is the decision to skip directly from Wednesday of Holy Week to Easter Sunday, omitting mass and all special ceremonies during the Triduum (e.g., altar washing and foot washing on Holy Thursday, adoration of the cross on Good Friday).

Whatever might have motivated the initial omissions, the missing passages were appended at the end of the manuscript in a later hand, in the order in which they are found in the ordinarium. These emendations suggest that this manuscript was selected to be sent to Weiler to support the reform and then was corrected against another copy of the same translation so that the newly Observant community would possess a full copy. In light of this, it is curious that this manuscript contains few

marginal annotations for the saints and feasts introduced after 1401.⁹⁵ These additions, I suggest, were no longer necessary because when this manuscript was selected to be sent to Weiler as part of the reform library, it was already destined to be paired with directoria, perhaps the very codices that also survive from Weiler (Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 66 and 69).

KARLSRUHE, BADISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK, ST. PETER PAP. 45

Corroborating this hypothesis, the second witness of the Freiburg translation includes marginal annotations supplying the missing feasts in which it repeatedly directs the user to a partner text that it calls the “half ordinarium [halbe notel].” This manuscript belonged to a convent of St. Agnes, probably the community in Freiburg, which, along with the Freiburg Dominican convents Adelhausen and Maria Magdalena, had been reformed by Johannes Meyer in 1465.⁹⁶ Agnes is explicitly identified as the convent’s patron in a marginal annotation directing the user to the “halbe notel” for further information concerning “St. Agnes our patron [sant agnesen vnser patronin].”⁹⁷ Moreover, mass for St. Agnes is celebrated with a sequence, *Laus sit* (Analecta Hymnica 55 Nr. 51).⁹⁸ The Sanctorale lacks all of the local Strasbourg saints found in the Strasbourg/Weiler manuscript and instead adds Conrad, a bishop of Constance commemorated in that diocese, in which the city of Freiburg also lay.⁹⁹ The modern catalog description dates the manuscript to 1475–78 through analysis of the paper.¹⁰⁰ Both the date and the location in Freiburg are corroborated by a letter preserved as binding scrap. It was written by the Basel Dominican and vicar, Johannes Bötschner, addressed to Caspar Vittolff, confessor to the sisters of Adelhausen in Freiburg, and dated to Lent 1477.¹⁰¹

Although the sections of the ordinarium included in this manuscript appear in the correct order, the marginalia with saints’ feasts suggest that it, too, was reviewed and emended at some point. All of the older additions that are missing from the Weiler manuscript (e.g., Alexius, Servatius) are also missing from the main text block of the St. Agnes manuscript, but they have been added in marginal annotations.¹⁰² The marginalia also record a comprehensive set of mid-fifteenth-century saints and feasts, again without the full information and instead only references to other resources. These fifteenth-century feasts include not only Vincent Ferrer (1455) and Catherine of Siena (1461) but also the feast of the Transfiguration (1465) and St. Anne (1465–68).¹⁰³ In the mass portion of the manuscript, the first feast with such a marginal entry is Vincent Ferrer, and this annotation directs the user to the end of the manuscript (“sûch har noch”).¹⁰⁴ At the end of the codex, folios 234v–235v contain the mass texts for each of these marginally added saints, old and new alike, in calendrical order. This manuscript was also copied from a faulty or an outdated exemplar and then reviewed for accuracy against either a different exemplar or a protocol of the general chapter’s liturgical changes, and the saints found to be missing were annotated.

However, while this appendix at the end of the manuscript contains mass texts, the offices for these feasts must have been recorded elsewhere. The marginal annotations in the office portion of the manuscript frustrate the user with every comment that a feast “has its own full office [hat ein ganzte eigen hystorie]” without further information.¹⁰⁵ Although only the marginal annotations for Corpus Christi and Agnes explicitly direct the user to the “halbe notel,” it is highly likely that this supplementary document, almost certainly a directorium, contained the full offices for all the saints annotated as having their own office, even in the absence of an explicit reference.¹⁰⁶ No directorium survives from St. Agnes in Freiburg, but the directoria that survive from other houses do contain liturgies for these feasts. Moreover, other directoria also include the information about decisions of the general chapter that St. Peter pap. 45 contains in an appendix, marked as duplicated in the “halbe notel.”¹⁰⁷ The paucity of information for new feasts and the repeated references to this supplement suggest that this ordinarium was updated against a more complete exemplar, but that at the time of

correction it was already paired with a directorium, called a “halbe notel” in this community. Information that was already contained in the directorium was not copied into the ordinarium.

FREIBURG, STADTARCHIV, B3 NR. 27

The final manuscript of the Freiburg translation was also copied with an awareness of material already found in other books owned by the community.¹⁰⁸ However, in contrast to the thorough comprehensiveness of the St. Agnes manuscript just discussed, this scribe’s attention to what was or was not strictly needed encouraged him to make some radical interventions in the text. This manuscript was produced by a Dominican friar for the convent of St. Katherine in Freiburg, as he recorded in a colophon: “This ordinarium was written and completed by Friar Niclaus OP specially for the worthy mother Sister Margaret of Constance and the convent of St. Katherine in Freiburg. [Geschriben vnd geendet ist dise notel durch brüder niclausen prediger orden jn nammen sunderlich der wirdigen mütter schwester margred von costencz vnd dem couent sant kathrinen zû friburg.]”¹⁰⁹ Marius Schramke suggested that this ordinarium was produced sometime around 1502, in which year St. Katherine in Freiburg was reincorporated into the Dominican order, and that “Friar Niclaus” may be identical to the Freiburg Dominican Nikolaus Braunbeer, who died sometime in 1517–19.¹¹⁰

In his meticulous study of this manuscript, Schramke identified several forms of intervention in the text of the ordinarium. First, the manuscript contains significant extra material not included in Humbert’s ordinarium. Some of the additional material is already found in the St. Agnes manuscript, such as the instructions for taking communion (in both manuscripts at the end). The St. Agnes manuscript also has appended at the end a note that the general chapter had mandated that the right choir should always begin Advent.¹¹¹ In the St. Katherine manuscript, this information has been incorporated directly into the text body at the beginning of both the office and mass sections.¹¹² Friar Niclaus, if he is indeed responsible for these changes, added an important practice that is wholly missing from the other two witnesses of this translation: the Tuesday observances for Dominic. These rubrics are inserted in the office portion, sandwiched between the Saturday office for the Virgin and the daily Little Office.¹¹³ They include the instructions for mass (no sequence is mentioned) together with the office instead of separating the mass rubrics and placing them in the correct section.

Second, the text was severely abbreviated in order to cut material that either was not needed by the sisters or was contained in other books. Some of the elements that Schramke identifies as missing from the St. Katherine manuscript were already absent from the earlier witnesses of the Freiburg translation. For example, none of these manuscripts contains the rubrics for blessing the candles on the Feast of the Purification. This was an action performed only by the priest with the assistance of a (male) altar server; these ordinaria tailor their contents to women by skipping these instructions and beginning the rubrics with the distribution of the already blessed candles.¹¹⁴ However, the St. Katherine manuscript also omits the chapters on mass prefaces and on censuring, both of which are included in the St. Agnes manuscript, albeit with marginal annotations explaining that they are irrelevant for women and should not be copied.¹¹⁵

Friar Niclaus also followed a principle similar to the Speyer translator in omitting feasts that were straightforward to plan out of other liturgical books and which did not have a scheduling complication or a ritual procession. Accordingly, the section on the mass is so radically abbreviated that the list of missing feasts Schramke provides in a footnote takes up nearly an entire page.¹¹⁶ As Schramke observes, even in the office section, Friar Niclaus often gives only the first in a series of chants with “etc.” and occasionally notes that the rest is found in the antiphoner and/or collectarium.¹¹⁷ The result of these abbreviations is that, although this manuscript clearly belongs to the Freiburg translation on the basis of both location and textual similarities, the text it contains deviates significantly from the two other witnesses.

APPENDIX 5

The German-Language Directorium Manuscripts

Disambiguation of the Term *Directorium*

For typological precision in describing the various liturgical manuals used by medieval Dominican chantresses, I reserve the term *ordinarium* exclusively for the standard Dominican text propagated centrally and controlled by the general chapter, including its translations into German. I use the term *directorium* for the supplementary manuals containing liturgical changes, guidelines for scheduling conflicts, and details on local observances or local variants of order-wide ceremonies. For other religious orders and other liturgical contexts that lack the Dominican order's strong centralization and standardization, this terminological rigor will not be useful, but in the Dominican context it is necessary to distinguish which book types were formally sanctioned and propagated by the order and which were compiled and circulated by the sisters themselves.

Previous scholarship and manuscript catalogs used a wide variety of terms for these documents, many of which also describe other book types and thus do not help with disambiguation. Nor are the medieval sources helpful in this regard, as they tend to use the same term for anything that contains liturgical instructions or even administrative information of any kind. I have therefore decided to focus on the main contents of this group of books—namely, instructions for scheduling conflicts—and to call them directoria after a similar genre of book that flourished in the late fifteenth century, especially in early print.

Despite their similarity to the ordinals, or *libri ordinarii*, from communities belonging to other orders, to call this group of manuscripts ordinals would be obfuscating in the Dominican context. “Ordinarium” was both a *terminus technicus* and a legislative text for the Dominican order. After 1256, the text of the Dominican ordinarium was fixed and could only be changed by threefold ratification of the general chapter. This standard ordinarium was translated into German and, the adaptations for women's communities notwithstanding, these translations are clearly recognizable as versions of the standard Dominican ordinarium. In contrast, even a cursory consideration of textual content renders immediately apparent that these other manuals are not derived from the same text. These books assist with the same function of planning and coordination that the ordinarium governs, but they are purely supplementary and do not contain enough information to be used independently. These documents are not rogue ordinals in a different format from the Dominican standard; rather, they are ancillary notes designed to be used together with the standard ordinarium and supplying extra detail that it lacks.

The distinction between this supplementary genre and the standard ordinarium has not been recognized by catalogers, and scholars either are vague or use several terms indiscriminately as synonyms. In cataloging the Nuremberg manuscripts, Karin Schneider systematically called all books of this type as well as the ordinarium translations *Rituale*, but this term usually is restricted to books that provide instructions for so-called “occasional” rites such as baptism and final unction.¹ Winfried Hagenmaier and Klaus Niebler both chose *liber ordinarius*, more accurately reflecting their contents but also subsuming them into the same category as German translations of the standard Dominican ordinarium.² In their discussions of a chantress’s duties, both Cynthia Cyrus and Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner mention books of this type. Cyrus calls them “rituals or ordos,” which does not offer precision, and Ehrenschwendtner simply lists the manuscripts among other “supplemental works [zusätzliche Werke]” that aided the chantress in her tasks.³ Marius Schramke calls the Engelthal manuscript (Freiburg, Universitätsbibliothek, 1500, 15) a directorium in his catalog description, although without justifying the term, and he treats the terms directorium and *liber ordinarius* as synonyms in his monograph chapter on the manuscript.⁴ None of the previous scholarship provides terminological clarity appropriate to the Dominican context.

Medieval sources do not aid with the terminology. The Engelthal manuscript does contain a prologue that designates the volume as a “song book [gesangk puch],” which is misleading because it does not contain musical notation, only sometimes records the incipits of chants, and includes a variety of other kinds of information.⁵ In the medieval convent library catalog from St. Katherine in Nuremberg, Sister Kunigunde Niklasin grouped these manuscripts together with German translations of the standard Dominican ordinarium under the library signature G, describing all manuscripts in this category as *notel*. Niklasin distinguished translations of the standard ordinarium from the supplements by designating the translations as “the rubrics of the order [des ordens notel].”⁶ However, the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg understood the category of *notel* very broadly, since not only the sacristan’s manual but also the table-reading manuals were likewise called *notel* in that community.⁷ The Dominican sisters in Nuremberg evidently used the word *notel* for all liturgical manuals, understanding “liturgy” in the broad sense that includes table reading and chapter.

Use of the German term *notel* for liturgical instructions is not unique to Nuremberg. Some obsequials from southern German Dominican convents use the term *notel* for the lengthy instructions pertaining to the rites for death and burial.⁸ The German-language ordinarium owned by St. Agnes in Freiburg contains marginal annotations mentioning a *halbe notel*, by which they might mean the supplemental manual that I call a directorium.⁹ The word *notel* cannot provide disambiguating precision. The medieval sources group these supplementary manuals terminologically together with ordinaria and other rubrics, revealing a fascinatingly broad conception of liturgy and liturgical planning but not aiding scholarly disambiguation.

Only Marius Schramke has previously used the term “directorium” when discussing manuscripts of this group, and I follow this designation for several reasons. Reflecting the fluid boundaries of liturgical book types, Peter Jeffery used “directory” as the umbrella term to encompass any sort of manual with liturgical instructions “explaining the ceremonies for each day of the year,” including several different classes of manual, each of which has a distinct purpose and consequently different contents: customaries, ordinals, and ceremonials.¹⁰ I use “directorium” in a more restricted sense. The term is used today in German dioceses to describe the calendars published yearly that establish the precedence of conflicting feasts and contain specifications for particular regional observances.¹¹ (The term used for these yearly publications in the United States is “ordo,” which is close enough to ordinarium to invite confusion.) Virgil Ernst Fiala and Wolfgang Irtenkauf define *Direktorium* as the “modern expression for the liturgical instructions that change on a yearly basis for each diocese and each order [moderne Bezeichnung für jährlich wechselnde liturgische Angaben für jede Diözese und jeden Orden].”¹² Just such information—liturgical instructions reconciling the practices of the

Dominican order with the demands of the local diocese while attending to yearly scheduling—constitutes much of the content in these manuscripts.

Furthermore, although the terminology of liturgical books in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is not entirely stable, use of the Latin term “directorium” to describe manuals for scheduling is contemporary with the records of the Dominican sisters. In 1501, on behalf of Hugo of Hohenlandenberg, bishop of Constance (r. 1496–1532), the Augsburg printer Erhard Ratdolt produced an *Index siue directorium Missarum horarumque secundum ritum chori Constanciensis diocesis* (Index or directory of masses and the hours according to the rite of the choir of the Constance diocese).¹³ This book “contains thirty-six rules, because the interval and the moveable feasts change this many times [continet xxxvj regulas, quia interuallum et festa mobilia tot vicibus variantur].”¹⁴ These thirty-six “rules” are nothing less than thirty-six yearly calendars, providing every possible permutation of the liturgical year based on the date of Easter and the resulting scheduling conflicts between the Temporale cycle and the Sanctorale feasts. Printing and distributing these rules permitted the bishop of Constance to standardize the resolution of Easter-related scheduling conflicts throughout the diocese. In England, the *Directorium sacerdotum* (Directory of priests), produced by Clement Maydeston and printed by Wynkyn de Worde, fulfilled an identical function for Salisbury Cathedral and affiliated churches.¹⁵ Although the manuals produced by the Dominican sisters are not nearly as systematic as these diocesan directoria, the issues surrounding local observances and scheduling conflicts also represent a central concern. I use the term “directorica” for these manuals supplementing the official Dominican ordinarium to signal that, although they also contain notes of other kinds, a significant purpose and use was to regulate issues of scheduling and the ritual variations of the liturgical seasons within local contexts.

In addition to the use of the term “directorium” as an umbrella category, there are other historical uses of “directorium,” or directory, that do not correspond to the contents of these manuals. I follow Peter Jeffery in distinguishing the genre of organizational directorium from the genre of “directorium chori,” which differs significantly in content, layout, and use context. The primary exemplar of this genre is the *Directorium chori* compiled by Giovanni Guidetti at the end of the sixteenth century and printed repeatedly well into the nineteenth century.¹⁶ Jeffery explains that Guidetti’s book “is not a reference book like the others, but is actually used during the Office by the singer who intones the chants.”¹⁷ Guidetti’s “choir directory” was designed for the use of the hebdomadarian and the cantor when intoning chants during liturgical performance, and the volume therefore contains extensive musical notation. Guidetti’s book type is designated as “cantorinus” by Eleonora Celora and Laura Albiero, with mention of “directorium chori” as a synonym.¹⁸ Guidetti’s “choir directory” is a very different kind of book, serving an utterly different purpose from Maydeston’s Salisbury “Directory of priests” and Ratdolt’s Constance “Index or directory,” which are entirely concerned with scheduling.

Although both medieval and modern terminology for liturgical books is notoriously slippery, the Dominican context demands precision. I use the term “directorium” in the more limited sense described above, as a companion volume that supplements the ordinarium with scheduling advice and local observances. The manuals produced by the Dominican sisters were not used during performance and they contain little musical notation. Like Maydeston’s and Ratdolt’s directoria, they are designed to facilitate scheduling and advance coordination.

Transmission Histories

See [Chapter 5](#) for a list of the manuscripts and a discussion of the genre’s origin.

Two manuscripts containing Observant Dominican directoria were owned by the convent of St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg im Breisgau, which was reformed to the Observance in 1465 by sisters from Schönensteinbach.¹⁹ These codices from St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg are the only extant Observant directoria known to me that do not have a connection to Nuremberg. Their content largely matches the Nuremberg branch of the transmission, but it differs sometimes in wording and text order. They thus provide important comparisons against the early Nuremberg manuscripts, helping determine how much was compiled in Schönensteinbach and how much was added in Nuremberg.

The Sanctorale volume (Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25) was clearly produced and used in Schönensteinbach before being transferred to St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg, as it still contains liturgical material that would only be useful to the Schönensteinbach community, such as the Translation of St. Bridget of Sweden.²⁰ In contrast, the Temporale volume (Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 5) is a later copy from which Schönensteinbach material has been omitted, as it was also omitted in all surviving manuscripts of the Nuremberg branch.²¹ In both manuscripts (indeed, in all Observant directoria), the Schönensteinbach base text is supplemented by further information that postdated the text's transfer from Schönensteinbach and/or was local to the Freiburg context, although the different stages of additions are obscured in St. Peter pap. 5 because it is a later copy.

This Freiburg Sanctorale provides circumstantial evidence to support dating the original compilation of the directoria to 1419, when the Schönensteinbach community sent its chantress Dorothea of Ostren to reform Unterlinden in Colmar. The manuscript does not include any explicitly dated entries, but one of the scribal hands that entered pieces of the 1419–23 reunification legislation (moving the feasts of Processus and Martinian and of the Four Crowned Martyrs) also recorded decisions made when Ash Wednesday fell on the feast of St. Agatha (February 5) and on the feast of St. Matthias (February 24).²² Agatha conflicted with Ash Wednesday in 1410 and 1421 and then not again until 1505; Matthias in 1406 and 1417 and then not again until 1479. These circumstances provide a plausible date range in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.²³

The location of B3 Nr. 25 in Schönensteinbach is attested by the inclusion of the Feast of Bridget of Sweden, Schönensteinbach's patron saint, and her Translation, as well as *memoriae* for St. Adelf in the main hand.²⁴ More clearly yet, an interlinear insertion clarifies that “we [wir]” means “in Steinbach [ze steinbach].”²⁵ Later use by a convent dedicated to Mary Magdalene is also clearly indicated in the lengthy addition describing the profession of novices, who must beg forgiveness “for the sake of God and Our Dear Lady and Our Holy father Saint Dominic and Saint Mary Magdalene [vmb gotz willen vnd durch vnser lieben frowen willen vnd durch vnsern geheiligen vatters sant dominicus vnd durch Sant maria magdalena willen],” as well as the later addition of the feast of Mary Magdalene's Translation.²⁶ This combination of evidence shows that Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25, was created for use at Schönensteinbach, migrated to St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg, and continued to be used there. It is possible that this manuscript was sent with the reforming party because the Schönensteinbach sisters had made a new, cleaner copy of a directorium and retired this manuscript. However it came to Freiburg, the layered additions by different hands permit a reconstruction of the stages during which the manuscript was used at Schönensteinbach and subsequently in Freiburg after the reform.

The provenance of the Temporale volume (Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 5) is more difficult to establish. The manuscript itself is a later copy that, unlike Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25, was never used in Schönensteinbach. It is plausible that it was made for or shortly after the 1465 reform of St. Mary Magdalene. The catalog description suggests a date of 1468–72 based on the paper, which would suggest that the manuscript was copied a few years after the reform.²⁷ It is missing some critical components that help localize other Temporale directoria, such as the Maundy Thursday altar-washing ceremony, which often lists the saints to whom each altar is dedicated and the antiphons sung in their honor. The altar dedications and therefore the altar-washing ceremony differed from

convent to convent, making it a common way to identify the provenance of manuscripts in which it appears. The absence of the altar-washing ceremony in St. Peter pap. 5 is not the result of damage or mutilation. The text that precedes the altar-washing ceremony in the Nuremberg Temporale directorium and the text that follows it are recorded in St. Peter pap. 5 by the same hand on the same folio.²⁸ Nevertheless, two points in a set of entries at the end of the manuscript locate this manuscript in St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg at least by the beginning of the sixteenth century. These entries note that a series of scheduling decisions in 1519 was made in conformity with the diocese of Constance, in which Freiburg lay.²⁹ Furthermore, the notes on this 1519 schedule include a reference to the community's dedication anniversary: "In the year 1519, the dominical letter was B. St. Ambrose (April 4) fell on the Monday after our dedication anniversary in the middle of Lent. [In dem jor do man zalt m ccccc vnd jm xix jor, do was der sunndag bûch stab dz B. Do gefiel Sant ambrosius am mendag noch vnser kilwi zü mit vasten.]"³⁰ In 1519, April 3 was Laetare Sunday, the dedication anniversary of St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg. These factors permit attribution to St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg at the very least of the entries in this hand.

It is possible that the hand recording these 1519 decisions in St. Peter pap. 5 is the same hand in Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25, that recorded, for example, the directives for the profession of novices.³¹ The same hand is also responsible for entries in B3 Nr. 25 that outline the scheduling rules on which basis the decisions recorded for 1519 at the end of St. Peter pap. 5 were made.³² This coincidence raises the suspicion that this administrator made the decisions according to her own judgment, recorded the circumstances in the Temporale directorium, and then retroactively entered the "rules" into the Sanctorale directorium.

ST. KATHERINE IN NUREMBERG, 1429: MARGARETA KARTEUSERIN

The earliest of the numerous directoria surviving from St. Katherine in Nuremberg were copied by Sister Margareta Karteuserin, one of the reformers from Schönensteinbach who assumed the office of chantress in Nuremberg.³³ Like the Schönensteinbach/Freiburg directoria, these manuscripts also form a pair with a Temporale volume (Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89) and a Sanctorale volume (Cod. Cent. VI, 43y). Sister Kunigunde Niklasin attributed these books to Karteuserin in the library catalog produced in 1455–57.³⁴ The attribution is certainly correct. Although Niklasin compiled the library catalog more than twenty-five years after the directoria were produced, Margareta Karteuserin was still alive and well and copying liturgical manuscripts for St. Katherine in Nuremberg during the 1450s.³⁵

Aside from confluences with the directoria surviving from St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg, several points of internal evidence reveal that Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89 and VI, 43y were copied from Schönensteinbach exemplars. First, the innumerable references to Colmar point to Schönensteinbach, which was under the spiritual care of the Colmar friary.³⁶ Second, other small failures to adapt in the process of copying reveal textual connections to Schönensteinbach. One unambiguous example appears in the instructions for the Translation of Dominic (May 24). The issues surrounding the changes to this feast's liturgy when it fell within or after Paschal Time pertain equally to the Translation of Bridget of Sweden (May 28), the patron saint of Schönensteinbach. Accordingly, Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25 treats these feasts together in a single entry. In Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, the mention of Bridget's Translation has been suppressed at the beginning of the entry, but further on, Margareta Karteuserin began to copy out the instructions for Bridget's feast before realizing that they did not pertain to the new convent and the Nuremberg context. The hanging phrase "and nothing but" has been crossed out in Cod. Cent. VI, 43y.

The day after, on the Monday after Trinity Sunday, one celebrates St. Dominic's Translation for the entire day. Thus one sings office and mass for the Translation of Dominic, and at

vespers one also sings the vespers office entirely for St. Dominic's Translation ~~and nothing but~~ [continuation in the Schönensteinbach manuscript] a memoria for St. Bridget. And then the next day, on Tuesday, one celebrates St. Bridget's Translation for the entire day.

Schönensteinbach: Morndis an dem mendag nach der heiligen trivaltekeit tag, so begat man von sant dominicus translatio allen den tag. So singt man zit vnd messe von der translatio beati dominici, vnd ze vesper so singt man die vesper ganz ouch von sant dominicus translatio vnd nüt denn ein memory von sant brigiten. Vnd morndis an dem zistag, so begat man von sant brigiten translacio allen den tag.³⁷

Nuremberg: Morgen an dem montag nach der heiligen trivalentikeit tag, so begat man von sant dominicus translacio allen den tag. So singet man zeit vnd messe von sant dominicus translacio, vnd ze vesper so singt man die vesper ganz auch von sant dominicus translacio ~~vnd nit denn~~.³⁸

This textual relationship makes quite clear that Cod. Cent. VI, 43y depended on a Schönensteinbach exemplar that mentioned Bridget of Sweden, although not necessarily on Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25 itself.

The production date of 1429 derives from the instructions for the altar-washing ceremony on Maundy Thursday, which is complete in Cod. Cent. VII. 89.³⁹ The instructions include a detailed list of the altars in the convent church with the saints to whom they are dedicated and the antiphons to be sung for them during the altar washing. This configuration of the altar-washing ceremony is particular to Nuremberg, as corroborated not only by numerous surviving processional manuscripts but also by the letters sent by the Nuremberg sisters to St. Gallen in the late fifteenth century.⁴⁰ Since the altar-washing ceremony has already been adjusted to the particular Nuremberg circumstances, the manuscript must have been produced after Margareta Karteuserin's arrival in Nuremberg in December 1428.

That it was copied almost immediately is suggested by a series of notes and emendations to the same ceremony, which mention Friar Johannes Nider as the source of a directive to wash the altar in the sisters' choir, even though this entailed breaching enclosure to allow a priest into the convent confines. Initially, Karteuserin included a note that "one does not wash the altar back in the choir [den altar hinnen im kor wescht man nit]."⁴¹ The entry was crossed out and a different hand recorded: "Henceforth one should always wash the altar back in our choir on Maundy Thursday. Master Johannes Nider ordered this. [Jtem den altar hinnen jn vnserm kor sol man furbas alweg waschen an dem antlaß tag. Daz hat meister hans nyder geheißten.]"⁴² (This whole exchange is somewhat surprising, since Schönensteinbach had received a ruling on this issue from the provincial prior, Giselbert of Utrecht (r. 1408–26) in 1423, well before they sent a reform party to Nuremberg.⁴³ In later ordinances, the altar washing was explicitly mentioned as an instance when it was permissible to break passive enclosure.)⁴⁴ Johannes Nider was the prior of the Nuremberg friary and oversaw the reform of St. Katherine, but shortly afterward he was called to Basel to reform the friary there. He had already left for Basel by April 1429.⁴⁵ In 1429, Easter fell on March 27, and it is possible that Nider was still lingering in Nuremberg and consulting on women's liturgical practices in late March. The issue was securely resolved by 1436, when the sacristan's manual was produced, containing detailed instructions for the ceremony surrounding the confessor's entry into the sisters' enclosed choir on Maundy Thursday.⁴⁶

Margareta Karteuserin's directoria continued to be used throughout the fifteenth century, bearing additions and marginal annotations in a number of different hands. The latest annotations in the Sanctorale volume are explicitly dated to 1493.⁴⁷ The Temporale contains an entry dated 1494.⁴⁸ More extensive study is required to determine the relationship of these early directoria to the later

copies produced in Nuremberg, and which were used by the Nuremberg sisters into the sixteenth century (discussed later in this appendix).

WEILER NEAR ESSLINGEN

The Dominican convent of Weiler near Esslingen also owned a set of Observant directoria divided into a Temporale volume (Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 69) and a Sanctorale volume (Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 66). Only the Temporale volume contains a provenance mark, but the Sanctorale volume is copied throughout in the same hand that also completed the bulk of its partner.⁴⁹ Like St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg, Weiler was reformed in an expansive regional effort. In 1475, the provincial chapter of Teutonia (southern Germany, Switzerland, and Austria) was held at the friary in Esslingen, and a friar of the Observant movement, Jakob Fabri of Stubach, was elected provincial prior.⁵⁰ This event set off a wave of reforms, supported both by the lords of Württemberg and by the town council of Esslingen.⁵¹ In 1477, the Dominican friary in Esslingen accepted the Observance, and the following year introduced the systematic reform of five Dominican convents in Württemberg, including Weiler.⁵² The reform party for Weiler came from the convent of St. Agnes and St. Margaret in Strasbourg, and the traveling sisters spent three days over Pentecost 1478 in the Observant convent of St. Mary Magdalene in Pforzheim before completing their journey to Weiler.⁵³

One would expect Weiler's directoria to follow the reform filiation: from Schönensteinbach to Unterlinden in Colmar, through St. Agnes in Strasbourg, and finally on to Weiler together with the extant ordinarium.⁵⁴ However, the texts contained in the Weiler directoria display telltale features that place them in a filiation deriving from the manuscripts copied by Margareta Karteuserin at St. Katherine in Nuremberg, including a direct mention of that city. The directoria most likely passed through St. Mary Magdalene in Pforzheim, which had been reformed by Nuremberg sisters in 1442. The brief stay in Pforzheim over Pentecost 1478 may have allowed the reforming sisters from Strasbourg to establish a relationship with the Observant sisters of Pforzheim that provided a basis for the book exchange attested by the directoria.

The confluences between the Weiler and Nuremberg directoria include vacillation between Alsatian and Franconian dialect variants in exactly the same locations in the text, distinguishing the Schönensteinbach base text from Nuremberg additions. The words used for *Tuesday* provide a highly visible example of this, as the text fluctuates between “zistag” (Alsatian) and “eritag” (Franconian).⁵⁵ A marginal annotation attached to the Feast of the Annunciation also attests to a connection between the Sanctorale volumes. In Karteuserin's Nuremberg directorium, a note in the upper margin reads, “We do not observe this here [diß halt wir hie nit],” whereas the corresponding note in the Weiler copy, similarly entered in the upper margin, explains that “they do not do this in Nuremberg [dz tût man zû nürnberg nit].”⁵⁶ Both Weiler manuscripts contain scattered notes and emendations in later hands, but these additions are not as extensive as those in the Nuremberg manuscripts.

Some passages in the Weiler Temporale directorium transmit an awkward text that demonstrably resulted from copying directly out of Karteuserin's Nuremberg directorium. The scribe omitted phrases struck through in the Nuremberg manuscript but did not otherwise adjust the text for sense. The deletions remove ego statements, as well as explicit mentions of Colmar, as may exemplarily be seen in the introduction to the lengthy instructions for matins lessons during Ordinary Time.

~~Some time ago, I wrote to Colmar~~ about the lessons for the historia *In principio* and also *Peto* and what one should do about them, since in the same rubric it says that one should read some lessons on Tuesday and also other days that are specially designated, on which one should read lessons or homilies. And I asked whether one should skip [the observances] for St. Dominic on Tuesday for the sake of the lessons.⁵⁷

~~Ich schreib vor zeiten [illegible] gen colmar~~ von der leccen wegen zu der ystoria *in principio* vnd auch *peto* wie man sich do mit solt halten, wan an dem selben noteln stot, daz man etlich leccen sölle vff zistag lesen vnd auch ander tag, die do svnderlich stont geschriben, auf die man leccen oder omelyen lesen solt. Vnd ~~do fragt ich~~ ob man denn von sant dominicus an dem zistag solt vnter wegen lon durch der leccen willen.⁵⁸

The excisions target phrases that personalized the advice, presumably in order to universalize its applicability, but because the suppressed phrases each contained the main verb of their respective sentences, removing them produced a series of incomplete phrases. This exact series of hanging dependent clauses is reproduced in the Weiler manuscript with no indication that there is missing text and no attempt to adjust the syntax.⁵⁹ The partial sentences seem all the more curious because the phrase introducing Colmar's response ("and I received the answer [do wart mir also geantwurt]") is not crossed out in Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89 and thus was copied into Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 69, yet without the phrases signaling that a question had been asked. Such correspondences demonstrate that the Weiler directoria derive from Karteuserin's Nuremberg directoria, although it is possible that a lost Pforzheim Temporale and Sanctorale pair of directoria intervenes in the transmission.⁶⁰

Although mostly word-for-word identical, the directoria from Weiler differ from the Nuremberg directoria in a number of local details. For example, the instructions for the Translation of Mary Magdalene (including indulgences!) in the Weiler Sanctorale suggest that the directorium text was used and annotated in a convent dedicated to Mary Magdalene, possibly in the Pforzheim community.⁶¹ Furthermore, the altar-washing ceremony outlined in the Temporale directorium contains a different number of altars, a different set of saints, and a different repertoire of antiphons from those recorded in the Nuremberg directoria.⁶² The most interesting detail of this altar-washing ceremony is that the second set of chants is for a portable altar, which is placed on top of the main altar for the purposes of the procession: "At the same altar, one sings the responsory *Tristis est anima*, and the antiphon *Magne pater*, and the versicle *Ora pro nobis, beate Dominice*, the collect *Deus qui ecclesia*, because one carries our ~~lord~~ altar stone from above down onto the first one. [Auch zû dem selben altar singet man den Respons *Tristis est anima* vnd die antifen *Magne pater* vnd den vers *ora pro nobis beate dominice oratio Deus qui ecclesia*, wan man tregt vnsern ~~herren~~ alter stain heroben hinab vff den selben.]"⁶³ Further research is necessary to determine whether this altar washing represents the practice in Weiler or in the community from which Weiler obtained its copy of the directoria.

ST. KATHERINE IN NUREMBERG, 1467: ELISABETH SCHÜRSTABIN AND KLARA KEIPERIN

Several further directoria survive from St. Katherine in Nuremberg, which represent redactions of Margareta Karteuserin's 1429 directoria. The first of these next-generation manuscripts (Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 69) bears both a date and a name on the front pastedown: "Sister Elisabeth Schürstabin wrote this book in the year 1467, pray to God for her [Diß puch hat geschriben S. Elisabeth schürstabin Anno domini m cccc lxxvj, pit got fur sie]." This attribution quite definitively connects the copy with a reform initiative. It was very likely used in the reform of Maria Medingen and returned to St. Katherine in Nuremberg sometime later, but it is not clear precisely when it traveled to Maria Medingen, nor when it returned.

The first attempt to reform Maria Medingen was in 1467, when a group of sisters was sent from St. Mary Magdalene in Pforzheim. A surviving reform contract lists the names of four sisters and the liturgical books they brought with them from Pforzheim to Maria Medingen, binding the community to return these books to Pforzheim upon each sister's death.⁶⁴ Is it possible that Elisabeth Schürstabin was informed of the Medingen reform and copied a set of directoria to support the initiative in 1467?

Such a situation is certainly plausible, but it is also imaginable that the colophon was added later and misdates the production of the manuscript.⁶⁵ For in 1472, Elisabeth Schürstabin herself was sent to Medingen with a group of Nuremberg sisters; she is named as prioress of Medingen in a 1474 record.⁶⁶ She took several volumes with her to Maria Medingen, and it is possible that Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 69 was among them.⁶⁷ In addition to the circumstantial association with Schürstabin through the colophon, a connection to Maria Medingen is attested in a marginal annotation. An addition providing instructions for the year 1492, when the feast of the Annunciation (March 25) fell on a Sunday in Lent, is marked for deletion with *vacat* and a marginal note that reads: “in Medingen [zu meding].”⁶⁸ If this manuscript was being actively used in Medingen until 1492, when and why was it returned to Nuremberg?

Elisabeth Schürstabin’s Sanctorale directorium did originally have a Temporale partner, of which only the first quire survives, now bound into Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, between the Nuremberg copy of the Zurich ordinarium translation and a different Sanctorale directorium copied at an unknown date by Klara Keiperin.⁶⁹ The first eight folios of this quire (folios 147r–154r) are copied in Elisabeth Schürstabin’s hand. A second hand takes over at folio 154v and continues to the end of the quire at folio 157v where the text breaks off.⁷⁰ This single surviving quire contains no provenance marks or marginal annotations of any kind, let alone any notes that reveal whether this manuscript had also spent time in Medingen and why it was bound together with Klara Keiperin’s copy and not with its original partner.⁷¹

Although it was produced later, Keiperin’s Sanctorale directorium was not derived from Schürstabin’s version, which might already have been in Maria Medingen by the time of Keiperin’s work. The entries for the feast of St. Barbara provide the clearest evidence for this. When Margareta Karteuserin copied Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, Barbara had recently been granted a three-lesson feast, and Karteuserin recorded this information in its proper calendrical location.⁷² However, at some point, the provincial prior Peter Wellen (r. 1446–55 and 1457–69) granted the sisters permission to celebrate Barbara at the rank of simplex. At Barbara’s feast, Karteuserin’s Sanctorale directorium has a note that further instructions are located at the back of the volume, and a lengthier note about this special permission was appended at the end.⁷³ When Schürstabin copied Cod. Cent. VI, 69, she reorganized the text to incorporate such later additions at their proper places within the calendrical sequence.⁷⁴ Accordingly, the instructions that appear at the back of Karteuserin’s volume are found in their entirety in Schürstabin’s version in the appropriate calendrical location.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, when she reached the end of the volume, Schürstabin recopied all of the information, apparently realizing only after writing it all out that “I also wrote this in the proper place before [Jch hab sie an ir rechten stat da vor auch geschriben].”⁷⁶

In contrast to Schürstabin’s doubled information about St. Barbara, Keiperin’s directorium follows Karteuserin, indicating that “there is more about St. Barbara in the back [von S barbra stet hinden mer].”⁷⁷ This is not, however, true; there are no further entries about Barbara’s feast to be found.⁷⁸ Regardless of whether Keiperin worked directly from Karteuserin’s version, she most certainly did not depend on Schürstabin’s. The entries for Barbara are representative of Schürstabin’s and Keiperin’s directoria generally. Schürstabin tended to be comprehensive, reorganizing material but retaining all of it, whereas Keiperin not only reorganized but also trimmed the text significantly.

For its part, Klara Keiperin’s Sanctorale directorium appears to represent a redaction that preserves an intermediate stage between Karteuserin’s version and the later, anonymous copy from 1484 (Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i). In fact, she might have prepared it as an initial draft, of which Cod. Cent. VI, 43i represents the final redaction. Several points indicate that Keiperin intended to produce a rough draft, perhaps even collating notes and additions from multiple exemplars. For example, two entries allegedly record scheduling solutions for calendrical conflicts between the church’s dedication anniversary and the feast of St. Catherine of Siena in 1473 and 1483.⁷⁹ However,

the problem and its solution are identical, merely phrased differently, and the conflict actually occurred only in 1473. It seems likely that Keiperin compiled two versions of the same event that were recorded separately in two manuscripts, one of which was erroneously entered with an extra x in the year (lxxxiiij, rather than lxxiiij).⁸⁰ The 1484 directorium adopted both entries in the approximate wording and with the dates given in Keiperin's version.⁸¹

Further supporting the hypothesis that Keiperin compiled a rough draft, two entries indicate that instructions for new feasts are lacking in the exemplar—namely, the feasts of St. Anne and the Transfiguration, both of which were confirmed in 1465. The absence is indicated in both passages by “it's not there [stet nit do].”⁸² Turning to the 1484 directorium, St. Anne is completely absent, but information was supplied for the Transfiguration.⁸³ In that manuscript, the wording of the instructions for scheduling the feast of the Transfiguration is nearly identical to the instructions given in Schürstabin's directorium.⁸⁴ Yet—curiously—whereas Schürstabin's version explains which melodies to use for the hymns at the office hours, the 1484 version provides instructions only for coordinating mass.

The relationships of these manuscripts to each other is not entirely clear, but it seems evident that, first, Schürstabin's Sanctorale directorium is not the direct source for Keiperin's copy. Second, Keiperin's copy was only in part a direct source for the 1484 redaction. Some other source or sources existed, and some of their information was taken up in the two later Nuremberg directoria, but they are now lost. It is unfortunate that only Sanctorale directoria survive in full from this middle phase of development in the Nuremberg manuals. In particular, it is a shame that only the first quire of Schürstabin's Temporale survives, as the configuration of the altar-washing ceremony would have provided valuable information.

ST. KATHERINE IN ST. GALLEN, 1488: REGINA SATTLER AND CORDULA OF SCHÖNAU

The relationships between Schürstabin's, Keiperin's, and the 1484 versions are puzzling, but the connection of the St. Gallen directorium (Wil, Dominikanerinnenkloster, M 8) to the Nuremberg manuscripts is clear. It is a nearly verbatim copy of the 1484 directorium (Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i). That manuscript was sent to St. Gallen and then returned to Nuremberg after a copy had been completed. Because the St. Gallen community was not formally incorporated into the Dominican order, it did not have access to administrative structures of the Observance. Once the community obtained permission to reform itself from the Bishop of Constance, under whose jurisdiction it lay, the sisters of St. Gallen turned to St. Katherine in Nuremberg for assistance and advice. The Nuremberg sisters could not send a reform party, as was the usual practice, but they supported the St. Gallen reform through an epistolary exchange and by sending books.⁸⁵ The single-volume 1484 directorium (Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i) evidently was among the books lent to St. Gallen.

The St. Gallen directorium and its Nuremberg exemplar represent a departure from the other Observant directoria in that they are the only ones to join the Temporale and Sanctorale together in a single volume. It is possible this was done to make the relationship between the manuals clear, as this transmission also represents the only “unaccompanied” transfer of Observant directoria. Simone Mengis identified the main scribe of Wil, Dominikanerinnenkloster, M 8 as the St. Gallen sister Regina Sattler, with a number of entries by Cordula of Schönau.⁸⁶ They seem to have produced their codex a few years after the correspondence with Nuremberg began in the early 1480s.⁸⁷ According to Mengis, M 8 is the volume described in a 1488 record as “rubrics with their description of how the mothers in Nuremberg observe the divine office [notel mit siner declarirung, wie sich die mutren von Nürenberg haltend in dem gotlichi ampt].”⁸⁸ This identification and dating is corroborated by the

additional annotations in Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i itself, which begin with entries dated and dateable to 1489, thus presumably shortly after the codex was returned to Nuremberg.

Although the St. Gallen copy was therefore almost certainly completed in 1488, it is not entirely certain when the work began. Both manuscripts contain in the (respective) main hands an entry about a scheduling conflict dated to 1484, providing a *terminus post quem*.⁸⁹ Whereas the annotations in Cod. Cent. VI, 43i first resume in 1489, a note about Catherine of Siena's feast in 1486 is found as a later addition in the St. Gallen copy.⁹⁰ A nearly word-for-word identical entry was recorded in the collection of letters sent to St. Gallen from Nuremberg.⁹¹ It is possible that the St. Gallen sisters received the Nuremberg exemplar in 1485 or early 1486 and had already copied the passages treating Catherine of Siena before the letter arrived, explaining how Nuremberg handled her feast in May 1486. This information was then copied from the letter both into the collection of correspondence and into the directorium.

A start date of 1486 is potentially supported by a record from that year that “we wrote and bound one obsequial, in which the Office of the Dead is contained, and we wrote and bound one diurnal, and we began one German book [wir hand geschriben 1 obsequial, da der totten ampt inne stat, vnd ingebunden, vnd ain diurnal geschriben vnd ingebunden, vnd ain tützsch buch angehept].”⁹² Without further detail, it is impossible to determine with certainty that this “German book” refers to the directorium, but its inclusion among other liturgical books makes it at least plausible. Whenever they might have initially received the Nuremberg exemplar, Regina Sattler and Cordula of Schönau completed their work by 1488 and sent their exemplar back right away.

GLOSSARY

admonition: A measure passed by one session of the Dominican general chapter lacking the force and permanence of the constitutions, but which immediately took effect.

Advent: A season of the liturgical year that begins on the Sunday closest to the feast of St. Andrew (November 30), whether before or after, and continues until Christmas (December 25).

alleluia: An exclamation of praise derived from Hebrew. (1) A chant genre of the mass sung between the epistle and gospel readings. It has the structure of responsories: The community sings the word *alleluia*, one or more soloists sing a verse, and then the community repeats *alleluia*. If a sequence is sung after the *Alleluia*, the community does not repeat the entire melody; it repeats only the first part. (2) During Paschal Time, the word *alleluia* is sung after many chants in order to heighten joyful affect.

altarpiece: An artwork that hangs or stands above or behind an altar.

antiphon: A liturgical chant usually sung by the community, often after a psalm or canticle. Antiphons are sung without psalms in *memoriae* and in the procession after compline.

antiphonal (adjective): A performance practice in which the community is split into two halves, which alternate singing verses.

antiphoner: The liturgical book containing the music sung by the community during the office.

apostle: A class of saint comprising the New Testament apostles.

approbation: The second ratification of a constitutional amendment by the Dominican general chapter.

Ave Maria: The “Hail Mary” prayer (Luke 1:28 and 42), also called the Angelic Salutation (*salutatio angelica*, *Engelsgruß*, or *Englischer Gruß*).

Benedictus: The Canticle of Zechariah (Luke 1:68–79) sung at the end of lauds.

canonical hours. See office.

canticle: A liturgical chant, the text of which is a song from scripture.

cantor: The administrator responsible for coordinating the liturgy. The feminine nouns are chantress or cantrix.

capitulum (reading): Also called a chapter reading, the capitulum is a very short text drawn from scripture and read during the office.

celebrant: The priest who leads the ceremony and consecrates the Eucharist at mass.

cense/censing: The ritual practice of sending the smoke of blessed incense over persons or objects.

chantress. See cantor.

chapter (meeting): The community assembly at which the calendar and commemorations for the dead were announced and at which the community proclaimed faults and received penance.

chapter (reading). See capitulum.

choir: The architectural location in which the community gathered for office and mass. The space was organized with rows of seats facing each other along the north side and the south side, usually identified as the left and right choir as one faces the altar. In Dominican communities, the prior or prioress and cantor or chantress sat on the right (south) side and the subprior or subprioress and succentor or subchantress sat on the left (north) side of the choir. The two halves of the community are also often designated as the right choir or left choir, meaning the persons who sit on that side.

collation: The ritual accompanying the light evening repast on fast days.

collect: A formulaic prayer read by the hebdomadarian, or presider.

collectarium: The liturgical book containing the collects and capitulum readings.

commemorative mass and office: A weekly observance replacing the normal Temporale cycle. The medieval Dominican Rite entailed two commemorative liturgies: Saturday for the Blessed Virgin Mary and Tuesday for St. Dominic.

common (of saints): The generic set of liturgical chants and readings that can be used for any saint of a particular class.

communion: The ritual of receiving the Eucharist. In the Middle Ages, unordained individuals received the Eucharist in a separate ritual that was not part of mass.

communion antiphon: The chant sung by the community at mass while the celebrant consumed the Eucharist.

compline. *See* office.

confessor: A class of saint comprising male ecclesiastical leaders, preachers, and other promoters of Christianity.

confirmation: The third and final ratification of a constitutional amendment by the Dominican general chapter.

consecration: The act of sanctification performed by an ordained priest.

convent: A community of enclosed religious women.

deacon: A man ordained to perform special liturgical roles; e.g., censuring with blessed incense and proclaiming the gospel.

dominical letter: A letter of the alphabet (A–G) assigned to each date of the year in order to help determine which dates in a given year are Sundays.

duplex. *See* rank.

duty roster: The list put together by the cantor or chantress to assign liturgical roles and other duties each week.

Eastertide. *See* Paschal Time.

epistle (reading): The passage from the New Testament epistles read at mass.

Eucharist: The bread and wine understood to become the body and blood of Christ through the sacrament performed at mass, or the ceremony of this sacrament.

evangelist: A class of saint comprising the four authors of the gospels.

eve: The day before a feast.

fast: A day on which Dominican communities were permitted to eat only one full meal. The evening meal was a collation.

feast: A day on which a special occasion or saint is celebrated liturgically.

ferial: Adjective describing a normal weekday, excluding Sunday, without a feast. Also used for the liturgical chants sung on normal weekdays.

form: The front of the choir stalls, where liturgical books may be kept and over which the members of the community prostrate themselves in certain rituals.

friary: A community of Dominican friars.

gradual: (1) A genre of responsory chant used during mass. (2) A genre of liturgical book that contains the music sung by the community at mass.

hebdomadarian: The person who leads the office in a given week. The duties include ceremonially opening and closing the office hours, reading the collects, sprinkling the community with holy water during the *Salve regina* procession, and administering discipline after compline.

high mass. *See* mass.

historia: The set of matins responsories for a certain feast.

Holy Week: The week before Easter, the liturgy of which is structurally unique.

homily: An edifying sermon interpreting a scriptural passage. The lessons of the last nocturn for Sunday matins are always excerpts from a homily on the Sunday's gospel reading at mass.

host. *See* Eucharist.

hours. *See* office.

hymn: A strophic poem with each verse sung to the same melody.

inchoation: The first ratification of a constitutional amendment by the Dominican general chapter.

incipit: The opening word or phrase of a chant, used to identify it, since chants do not have titles.

indulgence: A promised remission of some part of the punishment that one will suffer in purgatory after death.

introit. *See* officium.

invitatory (antiphon): The first proper chant of the matins hour, sung with psalm 94.

lauds. *See* office.

lay sister: A professed religious woman in a convent's household, whose duties are largely menial and who does not contribute to the community's Latin liturgy.

lectern: A podium on which books are placed to read from during the liturgy.

lesson: A reading that forms a structural part of the nocturns at the office hour of matins.

Lent: The penitential season from Ash Wednesday to the Saturday of Holy Week.

little hours. *See* office.

Little Office of the Virgin: An abbreviated office cycle with texts and chants dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. On ferial days, Dominican communities sang the Little Office either before or after each of the regular office hours.

Magnificat: The canticle of Mary (Luke 1:46–55) used as a chant at the end of vespers.

major hours. *See* office.

martyr: A class of saint comprising male saints killed for their faith. Women can technically belong to the category of martyr; however, with regard to selecting liturgical texts, all female saints are classed as virgins.

mass: The liturgical ritual during which the Eucharist is consecrated. Mass required an ordained priest to perform the consecration; women's communities therefore required male assistance in order to celebrate mass. The Dominican Rite provided two ritual forms for mass: high mass (celebrated by the whole community) and low, or private, mass (celebrated by one priest alone with only one assistant).

matins. *See* office.

memoria: (1) A rank of feast that entails only that a collect be read at mass and *memoriae* be observed at vespers and lauds. (2) A short liturgical observance added to the end of vespers or lauds, consisting of an antiphon, a versicle, and a collect.

mode: A classification of medieval music describing pitch relationships and melodic tendencies, similar to major and minor keys in modern music. Medieval music recognized eight modes or tones.

nocturn: A modular unit forming the core of the office hour of matins. Each nocturn consists of a set of psalms with antiphons and a set of lessons with responsories.

none. *See* office.

notel: A medieval and early modern German term used to describe instructions, records, or notarial documents. In liturgical contexts, it described any set of instructions for planning some aspect of convent life, including the liturgy narrowly speaking, the decoration of the church, and the communal readings over meals.

Observance/Observant reform: A religious reform movement that flourished in the fifteenth century, especially among the Dominicans of southern Germany and northern Italy.

octave: (1) A secondary feast celebrated exactly one week after an important feast; e.g., the feast of St. Dominic is August 5, the Octave is August 12. (2) The entire week after an important feast; e.g., “during the octave of Dominic” includes every day from August 5 through August 12.

offertory (antiphon): A genre for mass, sung during the presentation of the bread and wine.

office: The prayer hours, also known as the canonical hours, said over the course of the day. The term “hour” does not refer to a length of time (see [Chapter 1](#)). There were eight office hours: matins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and compline. Matins, lauds, and vespers are classed as “major hours” and the remaining as “little hours.” Dominicans always celebrated matins and lauds together without a pause, so Dominican writings usually refer to seven office hours, rather than eight. No sacramental actions were performed during the office, so women’s communities could perform them without male attendance.

Office of the Dead (or Vigils): A set of office hours commemorating the deceased. It consists only of the major hours (vespers, matins, and lauds).

officium: Dominican jargon for the introit, the opening chant of the community at mass.

ordinance: (1) Synonym for admonition. (2) The stricter regulations imposed on reformed communities.

Paschal Time: The season from Easter to Trinity Sunday. In the Dominican Rite, the office is celebrated with an abbreviated matins, which entails redistributing the psalm cycle.

Pater noster: The “Our Father” prayer (Matthew 6:9–13), also called the Lord’s Prayer (*oratio dominica*), usually prayed silently in the office liturgy.

patron saint: The saint in whose honor a community, church, or altar is consecrated.

post-communion: A prayer said by the celebrant toward the end of mass.

preces: A series of penitential chants that form a fixed group, said on ferial days at compline and prime.

preface: A ritual dialogue before the Eucharistic consecration at mass between the celebrant and the community, which has a portion that changes by feast. The text always ends with a formulation about the angels singing, which leads directly into the community’s sung *Sanctus*.

priest: An ordained man who is authorized to perform the Eucharistic sacrament.

prime. *See* office.

prior or prioress: The elected head of a Dominican community. In addition to administrative duties, this person fulfills liturgical roles on high-rank feasts.

private mass. *See* mass.

proper: Specific to a particular feast, as opposed to common or seasonal.

psalm: A poem from the biblical book of Psalms, read antiphonally during the office hours.

Quadragesima: The sixth Sunday before Easter and the start of the penitential season of Lent.

rank: The rank of a feast determined how important it was, governed liturgical performance (number of singers, ornateness of chant), and regulated scheduling in case of conflict. The Dominican order recognized six ranks of feast, in order from least to greatest: *memoria*, three lessons, simplex, semiduplex, duplex, totum duplex.

refectory: The space where the community ate meals.

repetenda. *See* responsory.

response. See versicle.

responsory: A genre of chant with a three-part structure. The cantor/chantress intones the chant (i.e., sings the first word in order to give the pitch), then the community sings the first part. One or two soloists then sing a verse, and the community in unison repeats all or a portion of the responsory; the repeated portion is called the *repetenda*. On some feasts, for some responsories, the soloists then sing the *Gloria patri*, and the community again repeats all or part of the *repetenda*. The term *responsory* usually refers to chants for the office. The responsory at mass is usually called a gradual. The alleluias sung at mass have the same performance structure as responsories.

retable. See altarpiece.

rite: (1) The particular set of rules and rituals that sets a certain form of liturgical practice apart from others; e.g., the Dominican Rite. (2) Certain solemn ceremonies of Christian ritual; e.g. the rite of baptism, or a coronation rite.

rogation (days): Days of fasting and penance that often entailed processions outside of a religious community's grounds in order to pray over fields, buildings, or various places in a city. The Major Rogation was held on the feast of St. Mark (April 25) and the Minor Rogation was held on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before the feast of the Ascension.

rubrics: The sets of ritual instructions that accompany chants, readings, and/or incipits in liturgical manuscripts, so called already in the Middle Ages because they were set off from the spoken texts by being written or underlined in red ink.

sacrament: Originally conceived loosely as a material sign of a sacred grace, the definition of sacrament narrowed over the course of the Middle Ages to include only seven rites (baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and marriage), which must be performed by an ordained man to be effective.

sacristan: The person in charge of caring for and preparing the church building, the liturgical vessels and instruments, and the liturgical textiles. This person is also often responsible for keeping time and ringing the signal bells.

Sanctorale: The set of fixed-date feasts celebrating saints throughout the year.

season: A portion of the year set off by a certain theological character and certain ritual variations to the liturgy.

secret: A proper prayer at mass said by the celebrant in a low voice so that he cannot be heard by the community.

secular: In the medieval context, secular is not the opposite of "religious"; it is the opposite of "monastic." The monastic orders (e.g., Benedictines and Cistercians) and their liturgical structures contrast with the "secular" priests and clergy, who did not belong to a religious order. The Dominican Rite is a liturgy of the "secular use" because it shares the same structure as the liturgy used, for example, by cathedrals.

semiduplex. See rank.

Septuagesima: The ninth Sunday before Easter and the beginning of the penitential season.

sequence: A genre of liturgical chant sung at mass between the epistle reading and the gospel reading. Sequences have a strophic form similar to hymns. However, whereas hymns have the same melody and poetic form for all strophes, sequences are through-composed with paired strophes. This means that strophes 1 and 2 have the same poetic structure for their texts and share the same melody, but the melody changes for strophes 3 and 4 and the poetic structure of the text might also, and so on, yielding the form AaBbCcDd, and so on.

sext. See office.

simplex. See rank.

solemn octave: The week after an extremely important feast, during which no other feasts may be celebrated. Only Easter, Pentecost, and (after 1481) Corpus Christi had solemn octaves.

stalls: The wooden seats in the choir where the community sits during the liturgy.

subdeacon: An ordained man permitted to assist at the altar during mass.

super-psalm antiphon. *See* antiphon.

tabula. *See* duty roster.

Temporale: The cycle of fixed and moveable feasts commemorating the life of Christ.

terce. *See* office.

three lessons. *See* rank.

tone. *See* mode.

totum duplex. *See* rank.

tract: A genre of liturgical chant sung between the epistle and gospel reading at mass. Tracts replace the *Alleluia* during the penitential season from Septuagesima until Easter.

Triduum: The three days before Easter (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday).

verse: The middle portion of a responsory, gradual chant, or *Alleluia*. The verse is sung by a soloist or soloists.

versicle: A short and melodically simple chant, sung by the liturgical presider with a response by the community.

vespers. *See* office.

vestments: The textiles worn by the celebrant during mass.

vigils. *See* Office of the Dead.

virgin: A class of saint to which all female saints by default belong, regardless of whether they were in fact virgins.

votive: Adjective describing a liturgical observance that is not part of the prescribed liturgy but is rather said for some devotional or invocatory purpose (e.g., to pray for good weather).

NOTES

Introduction

1. Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 15.
2. Holsinger, "Liturgy," 313.
3. Richards, *Consul of God*, 119. Helen Gittos quotes this passage in her introduction to liturgical research, in which she acknowledges that "liturgical sources ... are perceived as being difficult to use," in order to reassure her readers that "they are far from being impenetrable and arcane." Gittos, "Researching the History of Rites," 14.
4. O'Carroll, "The Cult and Liturgy of St. Dominic," 568.
5. Some manuscripts of the Dominican ordinarium used the terms *rubrica* or *notula* to describe their contents, but these terms are not widely used in liturgical scholarship, nor do they appear frequently in the acts of the general chapters. The standardization of Dominican liturgical books by Humbert of Romans offers a fairly precise terminology to modern scholarship, but the Dominican order was exceptional. For the most part, the vocabulary used to describe liturgical books was extremely unstable, imprecise, and regionally variable.
6. For descriptions of cantors' and chantresses' duties, see Bugyis, "Female Monastic Cantors"; Webber, "Cantor, Sacrist or Prior?"; Yardley, *Performing Piety*, 53–66; Fassler, "Office of the Cantor."
7. The main typological introductions to early and later medieval liturgical book types, respectively, are Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books*; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*. I borrow the example of the lectionary from Thomas Forrest Kelly, who gives a very accessible explanation of the ordinal book type in Kelly, *The Liber Ordinarius*, 22–24.
8. Numerous classifications of this text type have been published since the 1980s, all largely agreeing on the basic characteristics that I outline here. A recent overview with an expansive bibliography is provided in Bärsch, "Der Liber ordinarius als Objekt liturgiehistorischer Forschung." See also Lohse, "Stand und Perspektiven"; Caspers and van Tongeren, "*Libri ordinarii* as a Source for Cultural History"; Bärsch, "Libri Ordinarii als rechtsrelevante Quellen"; Bärsch, "*Liber ordinarius*: Zur Bedeutung"; Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books*, 221–28; Palazzo, "Les ordinaires liturgiques"; Martimort, *Les "ordines"*, 62–73; Foley, "Libri Ordinarii." A regularly updated list of published *libri ordinarii* and related literature can be found at www.ktf.uni-bonn.de/faecher/liturgie/forschung/liber-ordinarius-forschung (accessed 5 August 2023).
9. Yardley, *Performing Piety*, 55.
10. Palazzo, "Les ordinaires liturgiques," 236; Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books*, 223.
11. Hamburger and Schlotheuber, *The Liber ordinarius of Nivelles*, 4. Jürgen Bärsch made a similar argument that *libri ordinarii* functioned as a "memory crutch [Erinnerungsstützung]" to

secure elaborate rituals that were locally cherished but infrequently performed. Bärsch, “Libri Ordinarii als rechtsrelevante Quellen,” 288.

[12.](#) Bärsch, 301.

[13.](#) Martimort, *Les “ordines,”* 70.

[14.](#) Not only the Dominicans, but also the Cistercians, the Premonstratensians, and the Franciscans undertook liturgical reforms and attempts at standardization. For references, see Lohse, “Stand und Perspektiven,” 220–21 n. 30. More recent discussions of the liturgical development of the Cistercian and Franciscan orders include Bell, “Liturgy”; Welch, *Liturgy, Books, and Franciscan Identity*, 51–91. Benedictine and Augustinian reform congregations also produced ordinals intended to be prescriptive. See, for example, Hascher-Burger, “In omnibus essent conformes?”; Heinzer, “Der Hirsauer ‘Liber Ordinarius’ ”; Mertens, “Der Streit.”

[15.](#) Winfried Hagenmaier and Klaus Niebler both use the term *liber ordinarius*. Hagenmaier, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 193–95; Niebler, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter*, 1:8–9, 67–68. Karin Schneider systematically calls the books *Rituale*, a term that usually refers to an entirely different type of liturgical book. Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 105–6, 135–36, 217–18, 391–93, 404.

[16.](#) Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 353.

[17.](#) For excellent discussions of ritual systems and ritualization with this broader definition, see Belcher, “Ritual Systems: Prostration”; Belcher, “Ritual Systems, Ritualized Bodies”; Hollywood, “Performativity, Citationality, Ritualization.”

[18.](#) Flanigan, Ashley, and Sheingorn, “Liturgy as Social Performance”; Muschiol, “Men, Women and Liturgical Practice.”

[19.](#) Muschiol, “Gender and Monastic Liturgy,” 804. For examples, see Bugyis, *Care of Nuns*, 52–65, 133–72; Lifshitz, *Religious Women*, 185–92. For historical and theological perspectives on women’s role in liturgical action, see Berger, *Gender Differences*; Berger and Gerhards, *Liturgie und Frauenfrage*.

[20.](#) Bärsch, “Liturgy and Reform,” 22.

[21.](#) By the fifteenth century, the ritual organization of daily life was also affecting a large percentage of privileged, especially urban, lay society. Hamm, “Normative Centering”; Schreiner, “Laienfrömmigkeit.” A concise introduction to the debate over the imposition of ascetic ideals onto lay Christians is provided by Dahmus, “Preaching to the Laity.” I myself have previously cautioned against taking this concept too far. Jones, *Ruling the Spirit*, 106.

[22.](#) Hilpisch, “Chorgebet,” 270–74.

[23.](#) The scholarship on Helfta is vast, but see, for example, the essays gathered in Andersen, Lähnemann, and Simon, *Companion to Mysticism and Devotion*. There has been significant scholarly debate over the extent to which Helfta can be considered a Cistercian convent, since it was never formally incorporated into the order. Cornelia Oefelein argues that the Helfta community nurtured a Cistercian identity, even without formal connection. Oefelein, “Gründung.”

[24.](#) Bärsch, “Liturgy and Reform,” 22–23.

[25.](#) “The liturgy ... is the medium through which the Bible and the patristic tradition are received.” Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 71.

[26.](#) Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 237.

[27.](#) Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*.

[28.](#) Emmelius and Bleumer, “Liturgische Ästhetik.”

[29.](#) Kirakosian, “Musical Heaven”; Albin, *Richard Rolle’s Melody of Love*. In German scholarship, Wolfgang Fuhrmann has contributed substantially to this line of inquiry. Fuhrmann, *Herz und Stimme*; Fuhrmann, “*Melos amoris*”; Fuhrmann, “‘Englische’ und irdische Musik.”

30. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*; Hamburger, *Visual and Visionary*; Kirakosian, *From the Material to the Mystical*, 175–210. For liturgical textiles, see also Röper and Scheuer, *Paramente in Bewegung*.

31. Emmelius, “Mäntel der Seele.” For English-language treatments of the role of liturgy in Helfta mysticism, see Harrison, “I Am Wholly Your Own”; Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture*, 240–53. Felix Heinzer similarly argued that Elisabeth of Schönau’s liturgical mysticism was textually oriented in Heinzer, “Imaginierte Passion.”

32. Jones, *Ruling the Spirit*, 57–85; Jones, “Liturgie und kreative Sinnstiftung.”

33. Griffiths, *Nuns’ Priests’ Tales*, 182–97. For explanations of the gendered division of roles, spaces, and experiences of liturgy in the Middle Ages, see Muschiol, “Gender and Monastic Liturgy”; Muschiol, “Men, Women and Liturgical Practice.” For more on the cultural meanings and uses of liturgical textiles, see the essays collected in Wetter, *Iconography of Liturgical Textiles*; Röper and Scheuer, *Paramente in Bewegung*. The prohibition against women touching altar cloths and liturgical vessels was never strictly enforceable, especially not in women’s religious communities. See Griffiths, “Mass in Monastic Practice,” 734–35, 744–45; Zagano, “Women Deacons.”

34. Fassler, *Cosmos, Liturgy, and the Arts*; Bain, *Hildegard of Bingen*; Leigh-Choate, Flynn, and Fassler, “Hearing the Heavenly Symphony”; Fassler, “Composer and Dramatist.”

35. Falck and Picker, “Contrafactum.”

36. Fassler, “Women and Their Sequences,” 650–73; Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*, 1:217–22; Fassler and Hamburger, “Desert in Paradise.” Further evidence that German Dominican women composed their own sequences is presented by Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 213–24.

37. Cardoso, “Unveiling Female Observance,” 377–78. Cardoso suggested that the friars responsible for the sisters’ spiritual care may have provided them with the office, but the evidence supporting this hypothesis is the poor rhythmic structure of the Latin text, attributed to an unskilled copyist who supposedly corrupted what may have been a better original.

38. Yardley, “Musical Education,” 52.

39. Zhang, “Why a Medieval Woman Had Lapis Lazuli Hidden in Her Teeth.”

40. Beach, *Women as Scribes*; Cyrus, *Scribes for Women’s Convents*; Lifshitz, *Religious Women*.

41. Marti, “Schwester Elisabeth.”

42. See, for example, the identifications of individual scribes by Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen*; Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, xiv–xxxiii.

43. Sauer, “Zwischen Kloster und Welt”; Hamburger, “Magdalena Kremer”; von Heusinger, “Spätmittelalterliche Buchmalerei,” 154–57.

44. Winston-Allen, “Women as Scribes and Illustrators”; Winston-Allen, “Making Manuscripts”; Winston-Allen, “Outside the Mainstream”; Winston-Allen, “Networking in Medieval Strasbourg”; Winston-Allen, “Nonnenmalerei”; Winston-Allen, “Es ist nit wol zu gelobind”; Winston-Allen, “Gender and Genre.” See also Heiland-Justi, *Sibilla von Bondorf*.

45. See the beautifully produced two-volume work by Hamburger, Schlothueber, Marti, and Fassler, *Liturgical Life*. See also Hamburger, *Leaves from Paradise*; Hamburger and Schlothueber, “Books in Women’s Hands”; Marti, “Schwester Elisabeth”; Fassler and Hamburger, “Desert in Paradise.”

46. The scholarship on medieval women’s literacy is now delightfully vast, but for overviews and encompassing studies that focus on religious women, see Duval, “La littéracie des femmes”; Blanton, O’Mara, and Stoop, *Nuns’ Literacies: Hull*; Blanton, O’Mara, and Stoop, *Nuns’ Literacies: Kansas City*; Blanton, O’Mara, and Stoop, *Nuns’ Literacies: Antwerp*.

47. Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 342–43.

48. The most prominent counterexample is the Nuremberg Clarissan sister, Caritas Pirckheimer. For a brief English-language introduction to her life and intellectual milieu, see Barker, “Caritas

Pirckheimer.”

[49.](#) Schlotheuber, “Intellectual Horizons”; Schlotheuber, “Ebstorf und seine Schülerinnen”; Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt*.

[50.](#) Breith, *Textaneignung*; DeMaris, “Anna Muntprat’s Legacy”; Geith, “Elisabeth Kempfs Übersetzung”; Vosding, *Schreib die Reformation*. See also Williams-Krapp, *Die Literatur des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, 1:214–15, 293–94, 369–70, 427, 450–56.

[51.](#) Ochsenbein, “Latein und Deutsch im Alltag,” 43; Bell, *What Nuns Read*, 64. See also Grubmüller, “Geistliche Übersetzungsliteratur”; Hasebrink, “Tischlesung”; Williams-Krapp, “Erosion.”

[52.](#) Jones, “Rekindling the Light.”

[53.](#) Cited according to Schlotheuber, “Ebstorf und seine Schülerinnen,” 85.

[54.](#) Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*, 1:49, 55–56.

[55.](#) For schooling of city children in the artisan and patriciate classes, see Kintzinger, “Eruditus in arte”; Kammeier-Nebel, “Frauenbildung im Kaufmannsmilieu”; Beer, “Verhältnis”; Miner, “Change and Continuity”; Endres, “Schulwesen.” Megan Hall provides a good overview of the diverse forms of education open to elite and non-elite alike, with a focus on England. Hall, “Women’s Education.”

[56.](#) For a thorough discussion of educational aims and practices in German Dominican convents, see Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*, 1:43–90.

[57.](#) Bell, *What Nuns Read*, 60–61.

[58.](#) Seegets, “Leben und Streben,” 38–40; Zieman, “Reading, Singing and Understanding.”

[59.](#) Yardley, “Musical Education,” 51–52. Yardley does not herself specify that she is referring to diastematic notation (notation on a lined musical staff such that the relationship between the pitches is precisely designated). I assume that this is what she meant, since she placed using music as “an *aide-mémoire*” on level 2. Adiastrumatic notation (notation that indicates melodic shape but does not have the precision of staff lines) can only ever function as an *aide-mémoire*, to the chagrin of early chant scholars trying to reconstruct melodies. Kelly, “Notation I”; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 341.

[60.](#) Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*.

[61.](#) The CEFR also includes a fourth category, mediation, which captures the skills used by a plurilingual person to help two other people who do not share a common language to communicate. Furthermore, in addition to the traditional oral and written media, the CEFR has incorporated separate skill indicators for competence in digital and audiovisual media. Council of Europe, *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*.

[62.](#) Cited according to Schlotheuber, “Ebstorf und seine Schülerinnen,” 92.

[63.](#) This information is derived from letters sent from St. Katherine in Nuremberg to the sisters of St. Katherine in St. Gallen. *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 657. The requirement to learn the psalter before entrance is also mentioned elsewhere in the letters. “It is customary, when they want to accept a novice, that they have her learn to read a little Latin from the psalter beforehand, or to sing something like the hand, or to sing solfege from it, for a time. But for the sake of this learning, they do not leave anyone outside until she has finished learning all of these things, instead they themselves teach them to sing and read within the convent. [Es ist och gewon wenn sy ain nouitzen in wend nemen, so lasend sy sy vor etwz ain wenig lernen latin lesen an dem psalter, oder etwz singen als die hand, oder soluasiern darnach vnd aini zit haut. Aber vrsach der lernung halb lassend sy kaini da vssen, so lang das sy aller ding vsgelerni, sunder sy lerend sy selb innen im closter singen vnd lesen.]” *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 650. The “hand” referred to is the Guidonian hand, a common method for teaching musical scales in the Middle Ages. See Berger, “The Guidonian Hand.”

[64.](#) *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 658.

[65.](#) *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 658–59. Transcription slightly altered.

[66](#). The women in the convents of the Bursfelde reform congregation also enjoyed a liturgy-oriented musical education as has been explored, for example, in Lähnemann, “*Per organa*.”

[67](#). Summit, “Women and Authorship,” 93.

[68](#). “In the late Middle Ages, the choice of a particular script type was, more strongly than in earlier periods, dependent on the content and function of the book to be written. [Viel stärker als in früherer Zeit war im Spätmittelalter die Wahl einer bestimmten Schriftebene abhängig von Inhalt und Funktion des Buchs, das geschrieben werden sollte.]” Schneider, *Paläographie*, 38.

[69](#). Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, mgo 678, f. 77v.

[70](#). Freiburg im Breisgau, Stadtarchiv, B3 Nr. 25, f. 24r; Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 411, f. 63v. Ascription of the Colmar translation to a friar is further discussed in [Appendix 4](#).

Chapter 1

1. January 1 and Advent were not the only options for the beginning of the year. “In Europe during the Middle Ages, the chronological systems employed are so profuse and bewildering.” Ware, “Medieval Chronology,” 252.

2. For the symbolic significance of Advent, see Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres*, 61–74; Borgehammar, “Monastic Conception,” 23–27.

3. “Churching” women as a ritual reintegration into the community after childbirth remained important throughout the Middle Ages. Rieder, *On the Purification of Women*.

4. Cited according to Matter, *Tagzeitentexte*, 2.

5. Matter, 4–5. The poem was widely received both in Latin and in European vernaculars. See, for example, Kulagina, “Albrecht Dürers Versgebet”; Matter, “Das Stundenlied ‘Patris Sapientia’ ”; McCullough, “Thenke We Sadli.”

6. See Fassler, “The Liturgical Framework.”

7. Bonniwell, *History*; King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders*; Sölch, *Die Eigenliturgie*.

8. For comparisons of secular and monastic use, see Billett, *The Divine Office*, 20–22; Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 73–108; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 50–66. For a thorough summary of the structure of the monastic use in a German convent, see Stenzig, *Chronik des Klosters Lüne*, 27–62.

9. Gittos and Hamilton, “Introduction,” 4.

10. “Liber const. fr.,” 37 (dist. 1, c. 1).

11. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:94.

12. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:104, 137, 149, 202, 227, 245, 252, 259, 269, 292, 356, 377, 424.

13. See, for example, Gittos and Hamilton, “Introduction,” 4–7; Symes, “Liturgical Texts and Performance Practices,” 239–41; Flanigan, Ashley, and Sheingorn, “Liturgy as Social Performance.”

14. Altstatt, “The Music and Liturgy of Kloster Preetz,” 31. In defining liturgy in this manner, Altstatt builds on a definition offered by Susan Boynton, who distinguishes “liturgy” as “structured acts of communal worship” at which clergy preside from “devotion” as “flexible practices that can be performed by an individual and do not involve clergy.” Boynton, “Prayer as Liturgical Performance,” 896. As Altstatt points out, including the participation of clergy in the definition of “liturgy” is not a useful heuristic for women’s communities. This expansive definition permits Altstatt to include not only rituals at which men were not present but also “votive” observances; that is, “corporate liturgical activity outside the rule of St. Benedict and the Roman Rite” such as the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, Marian antiphons, and commemorative masses. Altstatt, “The Music and Liturgy of Kloster Preetz,” 32. See also Muschiol, “Gender and Monastic Liturgy”; Muschiol, “Time and Space”; Muschiol, “Men, Women and Liturgical Practice.”

15. For the symbolic importance of communal meals within religious life, see Signori, “The Refectory, Memoria, and Community.”

16. Altstatt also explicitly includes daily chapter meetings, table reading, and collation as part of daily liturgy. Altstatt, “The Music and Liturgy of Kloster Preetz,” 28–29. Infrequent rites are called “occasional” because they were performed on a specific “occasion.” The Dominican Rite did not make provisions for some standard occasional rites, such as baptism and marriage, but it did include rites for death and burial.

17. For a discussion of Dominican breviaries, see Albiero, “Spread and Circulation.”

18. Certain feasts, most prominently Christmas, required multiple communal masses in one day. Religious communities might also be obligated to celebrate some additional masses each day. Often only one was communal, and the other obligations would be fulfilled “privately” by one priest with an assistant.

19. The “whole community” as I use it here and throughout this book excludes the lay brothers and lay sisters. These people made profession, but they usually performed manual labor and did not have the requisite education to fulfill liturgical duties. Therefore, according to their respective constitutions, they fulfilled their own prayer obligations simply by reciting the *Pater noster* and (in the case of the lay brothers) a couple other common prayers. “Liber const. fr.,” 43 (dist. 1, c. 3), 180 (dist. 2, c. 15); “Liber const. sor.,” 343 (c. 14).

20. Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, 2:242.

21. Meyer, *Das Amptbuch*, 391 n. 60; Jones, *Ruling the Spirit*, 18; *Ordinarium*, 115–17 (§468–72).

22. This style of psalm performance (the two halves of the community alternating) is called *antiphonal psalmody*. Technically, it is only one of three ways in which psalms might be liturgically performed, but I will not discuss the other methods here—first, because antiphonal psalmody is the only method that counted toward the goal of reciting all 150 psalms each week and, second, because by the time the Dominican order was founded these performance methods had long since outgrown their psalmic origins and their ancient relationship to psalm singing is not relevant for Dominican practice. For an explanation of the other two methods (“direct psalmody” and “responsorial psalmody”), see Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 24–28.

23. Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, 36.

24. Ehrenschwendtner, “Puellae Litteratae,” 59. John Harper’s estimate for high medieval Benedictine communities ranges from ten to twelve hours. Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 74.

25. Cheung Salisbury, *Worship in Medieval England*, 4–5.

26. A concise overview of the many forms of late medieval communion, both during and outside of mass, is given in Burnett, “Social History of Communion,” 81–96.

27. Macy, *Hidden History*, 41–47.

28. Macy, 89–110; Zagano, “Women Deacons.”

29. Griffiths, “Mass in Monastic Practice”; Muschiol, “Gender and Monastic Liturgy”; Muschiol, “Men, Women and Liturgical Practice.”

30. For a discussion of the Dominican conventual chapters, see Overgaauw, “L’office du chapitre.” On the importance of the chapter meeting in monastic daily life, see Cochelin, “Monastic Daily Life,” 547–50; Signori, “The Refectory, Memoria, and Community.”

31. Instructions for holding chapter are found at the beginning of the Dominican martyrology, as well as in the ordinarium, and are edited in *Ordinarium*, 130–32 (§504–8) and 219–21 (appendix 1 §1–8).

32. The procedure for the chapter of faults is laid out in the constitutions. “Liber const. fr.,” 112 (dist. 2, c. 6); “Liber const. sor.,” 348 (c. 30).

33. The martyrology assumes that the duties are read out at chapter, but in his treatise on duties, Humbert of Romans acknowledges that many communities do this at table. Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, 2:299. The melodic formulae for singing people’s names are recorded in some Dominican manuscripts. See London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 48v.

34. The rituals of the daily meal in the refectory are found in the ordinarium. *Ordinarium*, 132–34 (§509–13).

35. Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, 2:212, 300.

36. Humbert of Romans, 2:298–99.

37. See Dohrn-van Rossum’s discussion of “public” clocks, in Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, 125–72.

38. Gaab, “Die große Nürnbergische Uhr.” Jacques Le Goff famously argued that the spread of mechanical clocks quickly effected a cultural shift in the approach to time that he dubbed the transition from “church time” to “merchant time.” Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, 29–42. This

stark view of the transition has been critiqued and nuanced. See the overview by Bradbury and Collette, “Changing Times,” 352–54.

39. “Liber const. fr.,” 45 (dist. 1, c. 4); “Liber const. sor.,” 340 (c. 4).

40. That they were required to fast does not mean that they always did. The acts of the 1321 general chapter lament that observance of the wintertime fast has “notably dissipated [notabiliter dissipatur].” *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:131.

41. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 1:358–59.

42. The following account of the daily schedule draws substantially on Hinnebusch, taking account of the additional information provided by Sarah DeMaris and the letters sent from St. Katherine in Nuremberg to St. Katherine in St. Gallen. Hinnebusch, 1:349–50; Meyer, *Das Amptbuch*, 391–92 nn. 60–63; *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 542–44.

43. *Ordinarium*, 77 (§304).

44. This practice was common for communities that observed a secular use. Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 97. Because matins and lauds were observed together, Dominican literature generally refers to seven canonical hours, not eight, but the Dominicans’ liturgical books distinguish between matins and lauds.

45. *Ordinarium*, 219 (appendix 1 §1).

46. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, IIIa, Q. 83, A. 2, R. 3. I thank Fr. Innocent Smith for bringing this passage to my attention. Humbert of Romans corroborates that mass was said after none during a time of fasting, specifically during Lent. “In Quadragesima, quando dicitur Missa post nonam...” Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, 2:77. Bonniwell placed mass after terce, Hinnebusch after sext. Neither provided a source for his assertion. Bonniwell, *History*, 120; Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 1:350. Hinnebusch also highlights the two mentions in the Dominican ordinarium and the passage in Humbert’s *Expositio* that make specific provision for mass being said immediately after prime, in which case terce should follow directly after mass. Hinnebusch, 1:370 n. 92; *Ordinarium*, 1 (§1), 115 (§468); Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, 2:78. Neither the ordinarium nor Humbert’s *Expositio* explains under what circumstances one might do this. In the article cited above, Aquinas simply comments that masses may be celebrated early if necessary: “Possunt tamen etiam Missae celebrari in prima parte diei propter aliquam necessitatem.”

47. *Ordinarium*, 136–37 (§526–29).

48. Meyer, *Das Amptbuch*, 392 n. 63; Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, 2:535. The letters from St. Katherine in Nuremberg describe their practice of *Nonschlaf*. *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 610–11.

49. *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 611–13.

50. In the *Salve regina* procession, the friars left the choir area and processed through the nave of the church. Bonniwell, *History*, 149–54, 161–64; Fassler, “Music and the Miraculous,” 238–43. This was not permitted for enclosed Dominican sisters, who found alternate routes. See Hoefener, “*Salve Regina*”; Pérez Vidal, “Compline and Its Processions.”

51. For introductions to Corpus Christi, see Newman, “The Life of Juliana of Cornillon,” 162–70; Walters, Corrigan, and Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi*; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*.

52. McNamer, *Affective Meditation*; Hollywood, “Song, Experience, and the Book.”

53. *Ordinarium*, 47 (§167). For the function of antiphons in interpreting the psalms to connect with the feast, see Fassler, “Dawn Song,” 219–23.

54. I follow the terminology used by Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 26; Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, 48; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 27. Harper’s terminology differs. Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 82–83.

55. For discussions of the meanings produced in the interactions between lessons and responsories, see Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres*, 64–65; Reilly, *Cistercian Reform*, 48–57.

[56](#). For my own analysis of the multiple meanings created in the week after Septuagesima, see Jones, “Bedeutungsvielfalt.”

[57](#). The very different distribution of weekly psalms during Paschal Time is described in *Ordinarium*, 49–51 (§178–82).

[58](#). The Dominican order actually only covered 144 psalms each week, since psalms 21–25 and 117 were only sung in the period from Septuagesima to Palm Sunday. *Ordinarium*, 31 (§124–25); Bonniwell, *History*, 136–37. For general discussions of the psalm cycle, see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 67–71 and 258–59; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 50–52. For the development of liturgical psalmody, see Billett, *The Divine Office*, 37–43; Taft, “Christian Liturgical Psalmody”; Dyer, “The Psalms in Monastic Prayer”; McKinnon, “Book of Psalms.”

[59](#). For a lengthier description of matins in monastic versus secular use, see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 86–97.

[60](#). London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 153v.

[61](#). Bonniwell provides a concise table of the scriptural books covered in the matins lessons of the Dominican Rite at Bonniwell, *History*, 138–39.

[62](#). *Ordinarium*, 4 (§11).

[63](#). See also Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 7–8.

[64](#). Easter is the first Sunday after the first full moon that occurs on or after the spring equinox. For a thorough history of the calculations that went into scheduling Easter, see Nothaft, *Scandalous Error*.

[65](#). Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 4–5.

[66](#). Since the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council, Septuagesima is no longer observed by the Catholic Church. Only the *usus extraordinarius* acknowledges Septuagesima and its season.

[67](#). For an accessible, albeit overwhelmingly thorough survey of the seasonal changes in medieval liturgical ritual, see Monti, *Sense of the Sacred*, 261–501.

[68](#). *Ordinarium*, 4 (§9).

[69](#). *Ordinarium*, 6 (§17).

[70](#). *Ordinarium*, 12 (§43).

[71](#). *Ordinarium*, 15 (§60).

[72](#). *Ordinarium*, 24 (§93).

[73](#). *Ordinarium*, 4, 69, 154 (§9, §272, §594).

[74](#). *Ordinarium*, 156 (§602).

[75](#). *Ordinarium*, 37 (§144, §146).

[76](#). *Ordinarium*, 40 (§151); Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah*, 3–8, 15–17; Monti, *Sense of the Sacred*, 357–61.

[77](#). *Ordinarium*, 1 (§3).

[78](#). *Ordinarium*, 49 (§176).

[79](#). *Ordinarium*, 53 (§191). This was sung throughout the next week and a half, until Pentecost, the seventh Sunday after Easter, at which point the standard verse *Qui sedes* was resumed.

[80](#). For an excellent discussion of the emotional resonance of Corpus Christi, its affective and theological function within the cycle of the Temporale, and Juliana of Cornillon’s mystical motivations for founding the feast, see Newman, “The Life of Juliana of Cornillon,” 162–70.

[81](#). *Ordinarium*, 69 (§272).

[82](#). Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres*; Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*; Simon, *Cult of Saint Katherine*.

[83](#). For fuller introductions to medieval calendars and scheduling, see Ware, “Medieval Chronology”; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 275–80. The Getty Museum has developed an

excellent video introducing the layout and function of medieval calendars, although it does not make clear that the Dominical letter corresponding to Sunday shifted year to year: youtu.be/h2CcewghKoo (accessed 5 August 2023).

[84](#). For explanations of the Dominical letter, see Ware, “Medieval Chronology,” 270–71; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 277–78. The first column in the calendar contains a series of numbers called the “golden numbers,” which indicated the dates of the new moon in any given year and thus helped to determine the date of Easter (the first Sunday after the first full moon on or after the spring equinox, March 21). The golden number is obtained by adding 1 to the year and dividing the result by 19; the golden number is the remainder. Although the shifting date of Easter played a major role in Dominican liturgical planning, computation of its date is never presented as an issue in the sources I consider for this study. Dominican communities would have aligned themselves with the Easter calendar of the rest of the church; many likely relied on coordination with the local diocese and did not bother calculating the date themselves. For a full explanation of the golden number, see Nothaft, *Scandalous Error*, 57–61.

[85](#). Ware, “Medieval Chronology,” 256.

[86](#). To calculate dates and days of the week in specific years, I use the online tool developed from Hermann Grotefend’s *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/gaeste//grotefend/grotefend.htm (accessed 5 August 2023).

[87](#). Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 53–54.

[88](#). *Ordinarium*, 76–77 (§302).

[89](#). General instructions for each rank are found in *Ordinarium*, 68–72 (§266–89).

[90](#). *Ordinarium*, 67 (§262). The instructions in the Dominican *ordinarium* define the end of time ranges by giving a day and specifying “exclusive” or “inclusive.” Only the latter formulation is in common usage in English. The Latin text gives “up to but excluding Palm Sunday,” but this formulation is awkward in English and I have adjusted the translation accordingly. Although it is inconsequential here, the distinction can be important.

[91](#). *Ordinarium*, 65–68 (§252–65).

[92](#). Bonniwell, *History*, 146; Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 134–35.

[93](#). Originally, mass was said for the Blessed Virgin every Saturday from Epiphany to Lent, from the octave of Easter to Ascension, and after Trinity Sunday to Christmas, almost the entire year. *Ordinarium*, 134–35 (§518). However, the office on Saturdays was devoted to the Blessed Virgin only during Ordinary Time. *Ordinarium*, 113–14 (§464–65). The Dominican general chapter made some abortive attempts to expand the number of Saturdays on which office for the Virgin was said in order to bring it into line with the schedule for masses before finally succeeding in 1352–54. *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:222–23, 293, 339, 346, 357.

[94](#). Bonniwell, *History*, 217. Bonniwell gave the date as 1362, but this is when the measure was first introduced at the general chapter as an *inchoatio*. It was approved in 1363 and presumably confirmed and thus passed into law at the 1364 general chapter, but the acts from 1364 do not survive in full. *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:393, 397, 403. Dominican legislative jargon is explained in [Chapter 2](#).

[95](#). For a discussion of a similar phenomenon as it was worked out in a northern German Benedictine convent, see Altstatt, “The Music and Liturgy of Kloster Preetz,” 49–57.

[96](#). For introductions to the genre, see Fassler, “Women and Their Sequences,” 625–29; Kruckenberg, “Sequence”; Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*, 1:211–22; Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 72–76.

[97](#). Bonniwell, *History*, 132–33.

[98](#). The Dominican liturgy provided sets of common material both during and outside of Paschal Time for one or more apostles, one evangelist, one martyr, multiple martyrs, one confessor, and one virgin. *Ordinarium*, 87–88 (§347–50) and 108–13 (§454–60).

[99](#). *Ordinarium*, 72 (§285).

[100](#). O’Carroll, “The Cult and Liturgy of St. Dominic,” 571–72.

[101](#). For the events leading up to Dominic’s canonization, see Haseldine, “Early Dominican Hagiography,” 402–5.

[102](#). I do not treat the origin or development of that liturgy; rather, I take the version confirmed in 1256 as a point of departure. For discussions of the pre-Humbert development of liturgies for Dominic’s feasts, see Bergin, “The Offices for the Two Feasts of Saint Dominic,” 61–65; O’Carroll, “The Cult and Liturgy of St. Dominic,” 580–87.

[103](#). For longer descriptions of the fourteen standard Dominican books, see Bonniwell, *History*, 86–94.

[104](#). O’Carroll, “The Friars and the Liturgy,” 194.

[105](#). O’Carroll, “The Cult and Liturgy of St. Dominic,” 592–95.

[106](#). It also provides the notes about scheduling the *Alleluia* verses that are found in the ordinarium, but it provides no music for those either. London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 419r.

[107](#). London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 421r.

[108](#). London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 415v.

[109](#). Volfing, *John the Evangelist*, 63 n. 7; Meyer, “*St. Katharinentaler Schwesternbuch*,” 110. The feast in question could be Dominic, but the officium was also used for Thomas Aquinas, for example.

[110](#). London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 378r. The mode of a chant governed the relationship of the pitches to each other and can be understood as something like a musical key (e.g., F major, C minor) in modern music.

[111](#). Of the mass ordinary chants, the *Gloria* and the *Credo* were not always sung. For high-rank totum duplex feasts like the Translation of Dominic, the *Gloria in excelsis* was always sung (and with the most elaborate melody), but for feasts of lower rank whether it was sung depended on the season. *Ordinarium*, 137–38 (§531–33).

[112](#). London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 433v–435v.

[113](#). London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 429v.

[114](#). London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 421r.

[115](#). London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 438r–v.

[116](#). London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 403v.

[117](#). London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 406v.

[118](#). Bonniwell wrote that “the conventual missal gives nothing except what is necessary for the celebrant and the celebrant alone in a Solemn Mass.” Bonniwell, *History*, 93. This is not strictly true, as the missal does contain the full text (but no musical notation) of the officium, the *Alleluia* verses, the gradual, the offertory, and the communion antiphon, as well as the incipit of the sequence. However, these are all written in smaller script than the texts for the celebrant and are clearly intended merely to help him follow along, so Bonniwell’s point stands that during performance the conventual missal is really only useful to the celebrant.

[119](#). O’Carroll, “The Cult and Liturgy of St. Dominic,” 600–601.

[120](#). *Ordinarium*, 65 (§254). For an explanation of vespers with regard to the rank of a feast, see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 57.

[121](#). The Dominican order strictly regulated how much music should be intoned before the full community joined in by placing a double stroke in the music after the opening phrase. In Latin, they are called “virgulae,” and German sources consistently refer to them as “zwei strichlin,” two little lines. For a discussion of these marks and their fairly consistent use in Dominican liturgical books, see Giraud, “*Totum officium*,” 162–63. Despite the traditionally large size of antiphoners, it was not possible for the entire community to see this book at the same time. It served as a reference for the cantor/chantress and the succentor/subchantress who jointly directed the community on high-rank

feasts. “The cantor and succentor should stand in the middle of the choir and govern the choir together. [Cantor et Succentor in medio Chori stare debent, et Chorum pariter regere.]” *Ordinarium*, 70 (§277).

[122](#). “At matins, the invitatory is intoned by four singers, and the two of them who are noted first in the duty roster, sing solo the entire first verse of the psalm *Venite*, and the other two the second, that is *Quoniam Deus*, and alternate thus up to the end. [In Matutinis invitatorium quatuor incipiant et duo illorum, qui primi in tabula notati fuerint, soli totum primum versum psalmi *Venite* dicant, et alii secundum, videlicet *Quoniam Deus* et sic deinceps usque in finem.]” *Ordinarium*, 71 (§282). See [Appendix 3](#) for a fuller discussion of invitatory performance practice.

[123](#). “In the aforesaid hours, the antiphons are intoned by the senior members after the prelate, when he presides over the office. [In praedictis etiam Horis antiphonae a Superioribus post Praelatum, quando ipse facit officium, inchoentur.]” *Ordinarium*, 71 (§278).

[124](#). It was also at the end of the antiphoner. The *Te Deum* was not always sung. Including it signals the importance of the totum duplex feast. *Ordinarium*, 72 (§287).

[125](#). The exemplar manuscripts also included an enormous amount of material that did not, properly speaking, belong to the matins lessons at all. Tugwell, “The Legenda of St. Dominic,” 360–61; Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, 109–17. In general, the lessons for both of Dominic’s feasts are extremely diverse in the early witnesses. I rely on the exemplar London, BL, Add. 23935, but these lessons were by no means the only ones in circulation. O’Carroll, “The Cult and Liturgy of St. Dominic,” 602–3; Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, 25–51.

[126](#). Despite the fact that the Translation would normally fall within Eastertide and thus have only one nocturn, those responsible for assembling the liturgy for Dominic’s Translation anticipated the cases in which the Translation responsories would be integrated into the repertoire for Dominic’s main feast. Medieval music theory recognized eight musical “modes” or ways of organizing the relationships between musical pitches. (To simplify the explanation, we now only have two: major and minor.) Because there were nine responsories in a full-length matins, it became extremely common in the high Middle Ages to compose the melodies of matins responsories such that they progressed through the modes in order. The first responsory was in mode 1, the second in mode 2, and so on, until the ninth responsory, which was again in mode 1. Hughes, “Modal Order,” 30. As Patrick Bergin has shown, the three responsories for the Translation of Dominic are in mode 3, mode 6, and mode 1, which is fairly odd on its own. However, this modal organization allowed these responsories to fit seamlessly into the musical structure of Dominic’s main feast in the years when the Translation fell outside of Paschal Time, as each Translation responsory had the same musical mode as the responsory that it replaced. Bergin, “The Offices for the Two Feasts of Saint Dominic,” 66.

Chapter 2

1. For the story as recounted by Jordan of Saxony, see Jordan of Saxony, *On the Beginnings*, 31; Jordan of Saxony, “Libellus de principiis ordinis Praedicatorum,” 81.
2. Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, 2:131. The earliest surviving ordinarium permits the antiphon *Ave regina* as an alternative to *Salve regina*. *Ordinarium*, 120 (§481).
3. Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, 2:132.
4. See, for example, Bell, “Liturgy”; Palmer, “Simul cantemus”; Chadd, “Liturgy and Liturgical Music”; Hoondert, “The ‘Restoration’ of Plainchant.”
5. van Geest, “The Rule of Saint Augustine,” 138.
6. Jeffery, “Psalmody,” 125.
7. For a more expansive treatment of the following, see Melville, “The Dominican Constitutiones”; Melville, “The Fixed and the Fluid.”
8. Galbraith, *Constitution*, 175–79; Thomas, “Constitutions dominicaines.” For a recent introduction to the Premonstratensian governing documents, see Neel, “The Premonstratensian Project.”
9. Engler, *Regelbuch*, 135–36. Paul van Geest lists no fewer than nine different versions of the Augustinian rule that circulated in different contexts. van Geest, “The Rule of Saint Augustine,” 137; Verheijen, *La règle de Saint Augustin*, 2:175–76.
10. Ponesse, “The Augustinian Rules and Constitutions,” 400; Verheijen, *La règle de Saint Augustin*, 2:117–24.
11. At the order’s founding in 1120, the Premonstratensians adopted a version of the rule known in modern scholarship as the *praeceptum longius*, which is simply the entire *praeceptum* and the entire *ordo monasterii* transmitted together. It seems, however, that this was deemed unwieldy, and by the beginning of the thirteenth century—when Dominic’s band was seeking a rule—many Premonstratensian communities were using the *regula recepta*. Hoondert, “The ‘Restoration’ of Plainchant,” 142–44; Rösler, *Einheit ohne Gleichheit*, 62–64; Wolf, *Trado meipsum ecclesiae*, 280–86.
12. Jordan of Saxony, “Libellus de principiis ordinis Praedicatorum,” 46; Jordan of Saxony, *On the Beginnings*, 11.
13. Wehrli-Johns, “Augustinusregel,” 73. Tugwell argues on the basis of circumstantial evidence that the men who founded Prouille probably envisioned an enclosed community similar to Cistercian convents, but he acknowledges that this is speculation. Tugwell, “For Whom Was Prouille Founded?,” 64–65. Julie Ann Smith argues that the earliest Prouille community “was not originally intended as a monastery, ... hence no specific rule was contemplated.” Smith, “Prouille,” 346.
14. Verheijen, *La règle de Saint Augustin*, 1:303–14; Engler, *Regelbuch*, 136–38. The other available options included Augustine’s epistle to a female community, known as the *obiurgatio*, and a version of the *ordo monasterii* adapted for women. van Geest, “The Rule of Saint Augustine,” 137.
15. These include Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 1507 (*Tabulae codicum*, 1:246) and Würzburg, UB, M.ch.o.16, which belonged to Ludwig Fuchs from the Observant Dominican friary in Ulm (Engler, *Regelbuch*, 42–44). A similar manuscript from the Observant friary of Frankfurt (Munich, BSB, clm 3684) contains most of the same texts but does not have any copy of the Augustinian rule in any version. Hauke and Freckmann, *Die Handschriften aus Augsburger Bibliotheken*, 2:15–23.
16. I cite the text of the *regularis informatio* according to Engler, *Regelbuch*, 65–66.
17. “So that you might examine yourselves in this book as if in a mirror, and so that you do not neglect something from forgetfulness, it should be read to you once a week. [Ut autem vos in hoc libello tamquam in speculo possitis inspicere, ne per oblivionem aliquid negligatis, semel in septimana vobis legatur.]” Engler, 82.

[18.](#) Engler, 165, 172–73, 185–87.

[19.](#) Galbraith, *Constitution*, 1, 203–53; “Liber const. fr.,” 26.

[20.](#) This situation requires further manuscript-based research. Latin copies of the sisters’ constitutions survive in martyrologies from St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg (Freiburg, Stadtarchiv, B1 Nr. 162) and Heilig Kreuz in Regensburg (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. latin 772), but these manuscripts do not contain the Augustinian rule. A surviving martyrology from the French convent of Poissy contains the Augustinian rule in the men’s version, with no adjustments made to adapt, for example, *fratres* to *sorores* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 10170, f. 120r). The martyrology from St. Katherine in Nuremberg apparently contains both Latin and German versions of the rule and constitutions. It would be fascinating to study this manuscript for traces of reading practice, but, under the current geopolitical circumstances, in Moscow it is unavailable to Western scholars. Barow-Vassilevitch and Heckmann, *Abendländische Handschriften*, 359.

[21.](#) Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, 1:156.

[22.](#) “From defects in these derive defects and errors in the liturgy, whence more disturbances and scandals arise than from the insufficiency of other books, which are well to be avoided in the divine office. [Ex defectu eorum fiunt defectus et errores in officio, unde plures turbationes et scandala oriuntur quam ex insufficientia aliorum librorum, quae sunt valde cavenda in officio divino.]” Humbert of Romans, 1:188.

[23.](#) Humbert of Romans, 1:188.

[24.](#) Humbert of Romans, 1:188.

[25.](#) Humbert of Romans, 1:155, 188.

[26.](#) Creytens, “L’ordinaire,” 166.

[27.](#) Melville, “The Dominican *Constitutiones*,” 262–63; Galbraith, *Constitution*, 183. Further studies of the evolution of the Dominican constitutions include Melville, “The Fixed and the Fluid”; Cygler, “Rayonnement”; Cygler, “Zur Funktionalität”; Van Engen, “From Canons to Preachers”; Vargas, “Weak Obedience”; Tugwell, “Evolution I”; Tugwell, “Evolution II”; Tugwell, “Evolution III”; Tugwell, “Evolution IV”; Tugwell, “Evolution V.”

[28.](#) Regardless, of whether the second distinction already existed or even had been envisioned when Dominic presented the first *consuetudines* to Pope Honorius III in 1216 is a matter of debate that cannot be resolved conclusively with the sources that survive. Cygler, “Zur Funktionalität,” 397 n. 63; Galbraith, *Constitution*, 180–81.

[29.](#) Melville, “The Dominican *Constitutiones*,” 262–63. The terms *consuetudines* (customs) and *constitutiones* (constitutions) were in simultaneous use for a period of decades. I believe it is pushing too far to argue that the friars consciously made a revolutionary ideological distinction between following tradition (*consuetudines*) and following laws (*constitutiones*). See Hoyer, “Dominikanische Buchnormen,” 36. The word *consuetudinarium* as a descriptor was not formally removed from the constitutions until 1251, but this action merely cleans up old vocabulary that had already fallen into disuse, to judge by the wording of the acts of the general chapter. *Acta Capitulum*, 1:43, 48, 55.

[30.](#) Hirbodian, “Die Dominikanerinnen,” 23–24; Smith, “Lest the Sisters Lose Devotion,” 322–23. For an extensive history, see Decker, *Stellung des Predigerordens*.

[31.](#) Smith, “Prouille,” 348–51; Smith, “Lest the Sisters Lose Devotion,” 324. For an exciting new assessment of the collaboration of the early Dominicans, the papacy, and Roman women in the development of San Sisto, see Doyno, “Roman Women.”

[32.](#) Barth, “St. Marx.” The earliest surviving German translation of the Augustinian rule, discussed above, was transmitted together with a translation of the constitutions, but it is impossible to tell how many communities observed this version. Sack, “Bruchstücke.”

[33.](#) Creytens, “Les constitutions primitives,” 47–48; Smith, “Lest the Sisters Lose Devotion,” 326–28.

34. Cariboni, “Zur Datierung der Interpolationen,” 400, 410, 416–18. The statutes appended to this bull are edited in Simon, *L’Ordre des Pénitentes*, 142–53. See also Tugwell, “Magdalen Nuns.”

35. For a thorough description of the negotiations over the *cura monialium* and of Cardinal Hugh of St. Cher’s role during the crucial decade of the 1250s, see Decker, *Stellung des Predigerordens*, 101–7.

36. “Si que vero nollent huiusmodi formam recipere pro sororibus ordinis minime habeantur.” *Litterae encyclicae*, 51. For Humbert’s role in settling the issue of the *cura monialium* and composing the sisters’ constitutions, see Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, 308–16; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 57–79.

37. *Bullarium OP*, 1:481. For the effect of the bull and the friars’ role in providing spiritual guidance versus daily liturgical service, see Duval, “Female Dominican Identities (1200–1500),” 21–24.

38. “Liber const. fr.,” 36 (dist. 1, c. 1); “Liber const. sor.,” 339 (c. 1). Jean-Daniel Balet attaches special significance to the injunction in the friars’ constitutions, since it was true innovation and not borrowed from the Premonstratensian institutes. Balet, “La liturgie dominicaine au XIIIe siècle,” 339.

39. Smith, “Lest the Sisters Lose Devotion,” 326–27; Jones, *Ruling the Spirit*, 17–18.

40. “Liber const. fr.,” 38 (dist. 1, c. 1).

41. “Some place should be established in which the sisters convene at an appropriate time to review the liturgy with the prioress presiding or another to whom she entrusts this. [Aliquis autem locus statuatur, in quo ad preuidendum officium diuinum sorores conueniant, presente priorissa uel alia cui commiserit tempore oportuno.]” “Liber const. sor.,” 339 (c. 1).

42. “The sisters should have the whole office of the Order of Friars Preachers, both day and night, according to the season. [Totum officium ordinis fratrum predicatorum tam diurnum quam nocturnum, quod pro tempore fuerit, sorores habeant.]” Creytens, “Les constitutions primitives,” 68; Smith, “Lest the Sisters Lose Devotion,” 327. Innocent Smith OP speculates that the clause in the Montargis statutes was omitted from the 1259 constitutions because “the settlement of the liturgical question in 1254–1256 meant that it would be taken for granted that the nuns of the Order would follow the Order’s legislation regarding the texts and chants of the liturgy.” Smith, 329.

43. *Bullarium OP*, 1:486.

44. See, especially, Marius Schramke’s study and the collaborative work on Paradies near Soest, since both studies focus on non-Observant (i.e., unreformed) convents, which would presumably exercise more freedom. Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*; Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*. Ann Roberts discusses a letter written by Chiara Gambacorta showing that her community (San Domenico in Pisa) obtained liturgical books that differed from the Dominican Rite, but the letter makes clear that this is an undesirable stopgap situation for a newly founded convent struggling to assemble the necessary resources—not an intentional deviation. Roberts, *Dominican Women and Renaissance Art*, 26.

45. Margot Fassler has argued that chants uniquely transmitted in Dominican women’s manuscripts might well be women’s compositions. Fassler, “Women and Their Sequences,” 650–73; Fassler and Hamburger, “Desert in Paradise.”

46. For a discussion of this changing legislation and its impact on women’s communities, see Jones, *Ruling the Spirit*, 18.

47. “Liber const. fr.,” 33–34 (prologue).

48. See also Humbert of Romans’s commentary on the constitutions: “But could not the Master General alter something in the liturgy? I respond, no; to last perpetually [innovations are] by constitution or general custom, because just as he is not permitted to change the customs that are commonly observed and approved in the order, neither may he introduce new customs. [Sed numquid

non posset Magister aliquid innovare circa officium? Respondeo quod non, ad durandum perpetuo per modum constitutionis, vel consuetudinis generalis, quia sicut non licet ei consuetudines communiter observatas et approbatas in Ordine immutare, ita nec inducere novas consuetudines.]” Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, 2:153.

49. Melville, “Fiat secretum,” 443–45; Melville, “The Dominican *Constitutiones*,” 270.

50. Melville, “The Dominican *Constitutiones*,” 273.

51. This twentieth-century revision was not the result of special attention to the state of the sisters’ constitutions. In 1932, amended versions of all the Dominican order’s governing documents were promulgated, in order to comply with the 1917 Code of Canon Law. Hinnebusch, *Dominican Spirituality*, 20. For the development of the 1932 constitutions, without discussion of the sisters’ version, see Hoyer, “Dominikanische Buchnormen,” 74–80.

52. For an extensive set of thirteenth-century admonitions for sisters in the province of Teutonia, see Ritzinger and Scheeben, “Beiträge,” 13–21, 25–39. For fifteenth-century ordinances directed at the Observant sisters of Teutonia, see von Kern, “Reformation des Katharinenklosters,” 17–20; Engler, *Regelbuch*, 122–31, 307–12. For discussions of admonitions and ordinances and their role in Dominican governance, see Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, 311–13, 405–7; Melville, “Rechtsordnung.”

53. For Meyer’s career, see Meyer, *Das Amptbuch*, 2–11; Seebald, *Reform als Textstrategie*, 326–30.

54. Judging from the records that survive today, Meyer is inaccurate on this point. The general chapter of Florence in 1257 ratified a confirmation (introduced in 1255) instituting a mechanism for accepting women’s communities into the order, but Humbert’s constitutions for sisters were first circulated in an encyclical after the general chapter in Valenciennes in 1259. *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:75, 79, 84; Decker, *Stellung des Predigerordens*, 106–7.

55. Evidently, the year was updated when the manuscript was copied, a phenomenon that has been documented also in other manuscripts of Meyer’s works. See Meyer, *Das Amptbuch*, 87.

56. Freiburg, StA, B1 Nr. 147, f. 178v–179r.

57. “And know that you should bow deeply when one sings *Gratias agamus domino deo nostro* at mass. Similarly, when one says Mary’s name in the preface. And also when one sings *O crux ave spes unica* during the hymn *Vexilla*. When one says the name Jesus in the preface or collect or *Gloria in excelsis*. But otherwise when one says the name Jesus in the choir, you should show him honor by inclining your head devoutly. [So wissent, dz ir nigen sond, so man singt in der meß ‘Gratias agamus domino deo nostro.’ Des glich so man nemt den namen Marie in der prefacio. Och so man singt in dem ymnus *vexilla* ‘O crux aue spes unica.’ So man den namen jhesus nemt in der prefacio oder Collecten oder im *Gloria in excelsis*. Aber suß so man den namen jhesus nemt im chor, so sond ir im wirdikeit erbieten mit andechtiger neigung des höbtes.]” Freiburg, StA, B1 Nr. 147, f. 179r.

58. “It is proper and right, since the friars fast with fasting food on the Eve of our holy father Saint Dominic, that the sisters also do this in all devotion. You should also eat fasting food on the Eve of Saint Bartholomew and Our Dear Lady’s Nativity. Item, on Good Friday they should fast on bread and water. [Es ist gar zimlich vnd billich, als die brüder vasten mit fasten spis an dem oben vnsers heiligen vaters sant dominicus, dz es och die swestren mit aller andacht syent tûn. Och sond ir fasten spis essen an dem oben sancti bartholomei vnd vnsere lieben frowen natiuitatis. Item an dem heiligen stillen fritag sond si vasten ze wasser vnd ze brot.]” Freiburg, StA, B1 Nr. 147, f. 179r–v.

59. See Burnett, “Social History of Communion,” 81–96.

60. “The brethren should receive communion whenever they are shaved on a solemn day. [Solent autem Fratres communicare quandocumque fit rasura in die solemnibus.]” *Ordinarium*, 248 (appendix 2 §117). This is actually not in the *ordinarium* as it is found in the thirteenth-century prototype, but rather it is in the rubrics of the conventual missal.

[61.](#) Freiburg, StA, B1 Nr. 147, f. 181v. The constitutions for sisters stipulated that “communion may be done fifteen times a year, on the days that are foreseen for the friars who care for the sisters [communio poterit fieri in anno quindecim uicibus, in terminis quibus uisum fuerit fratribus curam de sororibus gerentibus.]” “Liber const. sor.,” 341 (c. 12). The instructions for communion in the conventual missal stated that one received communion “whenever they are shaved on a solemn day [quandocumque fit rasura in die solemn].” *Ordinarium*, 248 (appendix 2 §117). Finally, the friars’ constitutions stipulate they should be shaved on the following fifteen days: (1) Christmas (December 25), (2) a day halfway to Purification, (3) Purification (February 2), (4) a day halfway to Easter, (5) Maundy Thursday, (6) a day halfway to Pentecost, (7) Pentecost, (8) a day halfway to the feast of Peter and Paul, (9) Peter and Paul (June 29), (10) Mary Magdalene (July 22), (11) Assumption of the Virgin (August 15), (12) Nativity of the Virgin (September 8), (13) St. Denis (October 9), (14) All Saints (November 1), and (15) St. Andrew (November 30). “Liber const. fr.,” 50 (dist. 1, c. 11).

[62.](#) Meyer was absolutely correct on this point; the general chapter in Strasbourg passed the third and final confirmation to change the chapter on shaving. *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:277–78.

[63.](#) Freiburg, StA, B1 Nr. 147, f. 182r.

[64.](#) Freiburg, StA, B1 Nr. 147, f. 182r.

[65.](#) *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 568.

[66.](#) *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 566.

[67.](#) For late medieval Eucharistic devotion, see Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 119–50; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*; Mossman, *Marquard von Lindau*, chap. 2.

[68.](#) O’Carroll, “The Friars and the Liturgy,” 196–97.

[69.](#) Although it is unlikely that hard evidence will ever surface, Bonniwell and, following him, King give compelling circumstantial reasons to believe that the Dominican order practiced some sort of particular, if not wholly unified, liturgy well prior to the tangible reforms that started in the 1240s. The situation is quite possibly similar to that of the constitutions, which Raymond of Peñaforte reorganized and streamlined without fundamentally altering. Bonniwell, *History*, 46–70; King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders*, 331–35. Philip Gleeson and now Eleanor Giraud have reached the same conclusion. Gleeson, “Pre-Humbertian Sources”; Giraud, “Dominican Mass Books.” The debate over the origins of the Dominican Rite has largely been conducted as a contest between the Paris cathedral and the Roman basilicas as the primary inspiration, but neither is a strong match. Bonniwell, *History*, 168–93. However, it has repeatedly been confirmed that the Dominicans borrowed chants and melodies from the Cistercians. Giraud, 303, 307.

[70.](#) Giraud, 304–8. She also identifies some variation in the sets of saints that appear in the pre-Humbert mass books, as well as differences in the ranks of some saints’ feasts. Giraud, 312–16.

[71.](#) The only such ceremonies considered by Bonniwell are the rites for the dying and dead. Bonniwell, *History*, 188–89.

[72.](#) Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 264–65; Henderson, *Processionale*, 59–63. Margot Fassler has also observed that the Dominican repertory of sequences is similar to that of the Paris Victorines. Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*, 1:212–13; Fassler, “Music and the Miraculous,” 244.

[73.](#) Fassler, 239; Bonniwell, *History*, 149–50; Jordan of Saxony, *On the Beginnings*, 31; Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, 2:131.

[74.](#) For overviews, see Jurczak, “Precious Pearl”; O’Carroll, “The Friars and the Liturgy,” 198–200; Bonniwell, *History*, 46–97, 194–206.

[75.](#) Three of the friars were from England, Lombardy, and Germany (Teutonia), respectively. Early manuscripts disagree about the fourth friar, who may have been either from Provence or from France. Bonniwell, *History*, 77.

[76.](#) *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:35–36.

77. Bonniwell, *History*, 79. The inchoations are slightly unusual in that they do not indicate the specific textual passage in the constitutions in which they intervene. However, they are clearly marked as inchoations and set off from the admonitions (declarations without constitutional force). *Acta Capitulum*, 1:35–36. For the difference between constitutional amendments and admonitions in the Dominican legislative process, see Melville, “Rechtsordnung.”

78. *Acta Capitulum*, 1:53.

79. Bonniwell, *History*, 81–82.

80. *Acta Capitulum*, 1:60.

81. “In the chapter *De officio ecclesie*, the whole office both day and night should be commonly observed throughout the whole order according to the organization last conveyed at the general chapter in Metz in 1251. [In capitulo de officio ecclesie, totum officium tam diurnum quam nocturnum secundum ordinacionem ultimo traditam Methis anno domini m cc li in generali capitulo communiter per totum ordinem observetur.]” *Acta Capitulum*, 1:63.

82. For the practice of canceling the next general chapter if the Master General died after Michaelmas (September 29), see Galbraith, *Constitution*, 85–86, 255.

83. “We commit to the master of the order the complete organization of the liturgy, day and night, and all things that pertain to it, as well as the correction of the liturgical books, and that he should correct the wording of the rule. We make this inchoation: In the chapter *De officio ecclesie*, where it says ‘the whole office, both day and night’ add ‘according to the organization and the exemplar of the venerable father Humbert, master of the order, we confirm.’ [Committimus magistro ordinis totam ordinacionem ecclesiastici officii, diurni quam nocturni, et eorum que ad hoc pertinent, et correctionem librorum ecclesiasticorum, et quod corrigat litteram regule. Inchoamus has: In capitulo de officio ecclesie, ubi dicitur ‘totum officium tam diurnum quam nocturnum’ addatur ‘secundum ordinacionem et exemplar venerabilis patris Humberti magistri ordinis confirmamus.’]” *Acta Capitulum*, 1:68.

84. *Acta Capitulum*, 1:73, 78. The general chapter of 1256 also instructed provincial priors to gather funds to support the creation of these exemplar manuscripts. *Acta Capitulum*, 1:81–82.

85. “It was impossible to satisfy everyone’s desires in this organization [Impossibile fuit in ipsius ordinacione satisfacere voluntatibus singulorum.]” *Litterae encyclicae*, 42; Bonniwell, *History*, 84.

86. *Acta Capitulum*, 1:99. Giraud provides a list of such admonitions in Giraud, “Totum officium,” 156.

87. See [Chapter 1](#) for a fuller discussion of these fourteen books and their practical uses in liturgical performance and coordination. Giraud discusses the production of the surviving exemplars in Giraud, “The Dominican *Scriptorium*.” As named in Humbert’s encyclical, these fourteen books were “ordinarium, antiphonarium, lectionarium, psalterium, collectarium, martyrologium, libellum processionale, graduale, missale maioris altaris, evangelistarium eiusdem, epistolarium eiusdem, missale pro minoribus altaribus, pulpitorium et breviarium portatile.” *Litterae encyclicae*, 42; Bonniwell, *History*, 84.

88. Huglo, “Dominican and Franciscan Books.” See also Giraud, “Totum officium”; Beban, “Nullus scienter litteram aut notam mutet.”

89. Giraud, “Totum officium,” 157. For square notation, see Huglo, “Toward a Scientific Paleography of Music”; Haines, “From Point to Square.”

90. Giraud, “Totum officium,” 161–62. Beban found more divergences than Giraud but confirmed the impressive degree of accuracy. Beban, “Nullus scienter litteram aut notam mutet.”

91. *Bullarium OP*, 1:486.

92. Throughout the Middle Ages, new feasts were added to existing music manuscripts by inserting extra quires or folios either at the beginning or at the end of the codex. The portable exemplar manuscript (London, BL, Add. 23935) has additional feasts in an insertion at the beginning

and an updated copy of the constitutions at the end. Bonniwell, *History*, 96; Galbraith, *Constitution*, 193–94. Aside from being inserted into existing manuscripts, in the fifteenth century, new feasts also circulated in separate codices, such as the antiphoner from the Dominican convent of Altenhohenau (Munich, Bibliothek des Metropolitankapitels, Chorbuch 6) containing only feasts that were introduced or whose rank was elevated in a way that required additional liturgical material after about 1300 (Corpus Christi, Vincent Ferrer, Catherine of Siena, etc.).

[93](#). *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:86.

[94](#). Creytens, “L’ordinaire,” 126–30.

[95](#). “Moved by your devout supplications, we concede to you, by the authority of those present, free license to change the aforesaid liturgy, adding or subtracting, as will have been regulated by three general chapters of the aforesaid order, notwithstanding any prohibition of this kind, provided that the books arranged and composed concerning the aforesaid liturgy are not changed nor yet destroyed. [Nos, vestris devotis supplicationibus inclinati, immutandi predictum officium, addendo scilicet, vel subtrahendo, prout per tria Capitula Generalia predicti Ordinis fuerit ordinatum, dummodo libri ordinati, & compositi super predicto Officio non mutantur, nec etiam destruantur, liberam vobis, non obstante inhibitione hujusmodi, concedimus auctoritate presentium, facultatem.]” *Bullarium OP*, 2:8. Bonniwell interprets this bull as authorizing a greater capacity for change within the order, whereas I see it as reconciling the papal record with the order’s existing status quo. Bonniwell, *History*, 200–201.

[96](#). See my further discussions in [Chapters 4](#) and [6](#), as well as Pérez Vidal, “Compline and Its Processions.”

[97](#). “Sant augustinus orden noch vfsatzung vnd vnder der phlicht prediger ordens.” Freiburg, StA, B1 Nr. 147, f. 164r. In Latin: “Ordinis S. Augustini, secundum Instituta, & sub cura Fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum.” *Bullarium OP*, 2:8.

[98](#). For the extremely complex history of Clare’s community and the legacy of her rule, see Roest, “The Rules of Poor Clares and Minoresses”; Mooney, *Clare of Assisi*, 117–96.

[99](#). Freiburg, StA, B1 Nr. 147, f. 164v.

Chapter 3

1. The professional book market in late medieval Paris is explored in Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*.

2. For broader treatments, see Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*; Rollo-Koster and Izbicki, *A Companion to the Great Western Schism*.

3. For the early reform of the Nuremberg friary and the halting progression of the early Dominican Observance, see Hillenbrand, "Observantenbewegung," 225–33; Engler, *Regelbuch*, 221–59.

4. The portion of Rome, Santa Sabina, XIV L 1 containing the Dominican constitutions was updated through 1276, whereas the only marginal annotation to the ordinarium is datable to 1261. Boyle, "Material Consideration," 38–39; Gy, "Documentation," 7. In the other relatively complete exemplar manuscript, London, BL, Add. 23935, there are no later updates in the ordinarium, whereas the constitutions within the martyrology have been emended and, furthermore, a separate up-to-date copy (as of 1358) was added to the end of the manuscript. Galbraith, *Constitution*, 197–98.

5. Rubrics for processions, such as the candle procession on the Purification (February 2) or the palm procession on Palm Sunday, were interspersed throughout the mass section, connected to the instructions for mass on the relevant feast. Such processions were usually performed just before and indeed led directly into the celebration of mass, as they did in the Dominican Rite. However, scholarship often labels them "para-liturgical" because they are supplemental to the mass's Eucharistic core. Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 127–29; Huglo, *Les manuscrits du processional*, 1:36*–55*; Bailey, *Processions of Sarum*.

6. For the ceremonies after compline, see Bonniwell, *History*, 149–54, 161–64; Hoefener, "Salve Regina"; Pérez Vidal, "Compline and Its Processions."

7. The office section of the ordinarium inserted guidelines for the commons of saints during Paschal Time after the feast of St. Ambrose (April 4) because the matins hour of the office was structured differently. Because the structure of mass was not fundamentally altered during Paschal Time, only one set of instructions for the commons was necessary. *Ordinarium*, 87–88 (§347–50) and 108–13 (§454–60).

8. The Office of the Dead was ideally said in addition to the regular office cycle once a week, if possible on Sunday. *Ordinarium*, 117 (§473).

9. Giraud, "The Dominican *Scriptorium*"; Giraud, "Totum officium"; Beban, "Nullus scienter litteram aut notam mutet."

10. Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, 27–30.

11. Thurn, "Handschriften," 11. Literature on the secularization of 1803 is vast. For overviews, see Garrett, "Expropriation of Monastic Libraries"; Beales, *Prosperity and Plunder*, 282–90; Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, 2:623–27.

12. For the reform, see Meyer, *Women's History*, 219–20. The Nuremberg friary effectively dissolved in the 1520s. Bock, "Nürnberger Predigerkloster," 156–66. The Augsburg Dominicans were temporarily driven out of the city in 1534. Siemer, *Sankt Magdalena in Augsburg*, 97. Speaking for Augsburg is the fact that the only added saint's feast that was not universally imposed on the order is Afra, who was specially venerated in Augsburg.

13. Thurn, "Handschriften," 33–34.

14. Boyle, "Material Consideration," 37–38; Huglo, "Comparaison," 202–3; Galbraith, *Constitution*, 194–95. Much of the Spanish exemplar, now held in the convent of San Esteban (Salamanca, Convento de San Esteban, MS SAL.CL.01), has been lost, unfortunately including the ordinarium. Fueyo Suárez, "El Exemplar," 94. For the exemplars, see Giraud, *Making of Dominican Liturgy*.

[15.](#) *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:98, 113. See Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, 108, 113.

[16.](#) The published manuscript description dates the manuscript to the fourteenth century but provides no grounds for this dating. Thurn, “Handschriften,” 33.

[17.](#) I have only been able to consult a microfilm, so this theory will require further investigation by an expert with access to the physical manuscript. The pattern of bicolouration in the letter’s body is identical to Stirnemann’s Cat. 29, f. 19, dated 1230–50. Stirnemann, “Fils de la vierge,” 67. The Q’s marginal descender with its alternating I-bands and comb-like strokes matches two of Stirnemann’s examples from the 1250–70 period (Cat. 32, f. 45v, and Cat. 36, f. 30). Stirnemann, 68–69. Finally, although they are not as pronounced as in some of Stirnemann’s examples, the Q boasts bunches of circles characteristic of the “frog’s egg” motif. For comparison, see also Gousset, “La décoration du ‘prototype.’ ” I thank Margot Fassler for bringing Stirnemann’s work to my attention.

[18.](#) Huglo, “Dominican and Franciscan Books,” 197; Huglo, “Comparaison,” 214.

[19.](#) That the codex was cropped is evident from f. 162v, where the words “preces” and “incipiant” have been cut off from the phrase “v. Hostias et preces Cantores incipiant. Secr. Hostias,” where they had been added in the margins to correct an eye-skip error in the Mass for All Souls. *Ordinarium*, 208 (§862).

[20.](#) Marginal annotations survive on f. 47r where notes in the top and bottom margins contain text that has also been added to the main block in a formal hand that is not that of the main scribe, over some text that has been scraped out. Although the letter forms are similar, the addition is distinguishable because the main scribe’s abbreviation for *responsorium* resembles a 22, whereas the corrector’s is a capital R with a stroke through the tail. In some cases, the correction was not undertaken in the text body. For example, the scribe left a blank for a psalm incipit on f. 11r. A marginal annotation supplies the missing text, but the gap was never filled in.

[21.](#) Dane, *What Is a Book?*, 30–32; Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 14–15, 49–53.

[22.](#) Rouse and Rouse, “Book Production in Paris,” 819. For the Dominican use of *peciae*, see Rouse and Rouse, “Impact of Dominicans,” 34–36; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, 1:85–87.

[23.](#) In addition to the Rouses’ work, see Ray, “Intellectual Exchange”; Pollard, “The *Pecia* System.”

[24.](#) Boyle, “Material Consideration,” 35–36; Rouse and Rouse, “Impact of Dominicans,” 34–35, 43–45; Ruzzier, “Quelques observations,” 173. Huglo mentions a surviving Dominican notated breviary (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 193–94) with a marginal note reading “Ia pecia de communi sanctorum.” Huglo, “Dominican and Franciscan Books,” 199.

[25.](#) The quire structure identifying f. 103 as a singleton is provided in the catalog description. Thurn, “Handschriften,” 33. The exemplar manuscript from which it was copied must have been similar in size to the Würzburg manuscript, since the relationship of the text to the quire structure almost matches.

[26.](#) For the overseer of scribes, see Giraud, “The Dominican *Scriptorium*,” 249–50; Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, 2:266–68.

[27.](#) Humbert of Romans, 2:238.

[28.](#) Giraud, “The Dominican *Scriptorium*,” 253.

[29.](#) Bonniwell, *History*, especially 207–54; Gonzalez Fuente, *La vida liturgica*.

[30.](#) Smith, “Dominican Chant and Dominican Identity.”

[31.](#) The implications of the graphic diversity in the annotations may be observed in the differences between the way in which the saints introduced during this period are inserted into the *ordinarium*. St. Edward (1265) and St. Martha (1276) each have two annotations, one in the office

portion of the ordinarium and one in the section on the mass (Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.q.54, ff. 79r and 162r, ff. 73v and 157v). In contrast, for St. Anthony of Padua (1262) only his mass is added and there is no corresponding annotation in the office section of the ordinarium. Anthony's office should be f. 70r, but it is not; his mass is on f. 156r. This suggests to me that St. Anthony may have been a later addition, inserted after the initial period of conscientious updating, as this pattern more closely matches the fourteenth-century annotations. If St. Anthony is indeed a fourteenth-century addition, this would suggest that the Würzburg ordinarium was copied after 1262 but before 1265 from a pre-1262 exemplar that had not been updated. In this scenario, the owners of the ordinarium conscientiously updated it with new legislation after its production, but they did not add St. Anthony because this legislation had passed before they acquired the manuscript.

[32.](#) *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:196, 200, 205. I have transcribed the wording of the final confirmation. For a discussion of the anniversaries of the dead in early Dominican legislation, see Smith, *Bible Missals*, 54–58.

[33.](#) *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:232–33.

[34.](#) *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:3, 8–9, 15.

[35.](#) *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:128–29, 139, 145. The Dominican order took a curiously long time to formally institute the feast of Corpus Christi, especially considering that the Office is attributed to Thomas Aquinas. For a discussion of the issues surrounding this puzzle, see Mulchahey, “Thomas Aquinas,” 229–30.

[36.](#) *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:156, 163–64, 168, 370, 375, 382.

[37.](#) *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:346, 356, 364–65.

[38.](#) *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:17, 24, 32, 107, 114, 120, 177, 190, 194, 206, 216. This last change took five years to confirm rather than the usual three because, after passing the approbation, the general chapter changed its mind about which antiphon should be sung at lauds and which at vespers. In order to swap the antiphons, they had to start the process over again with a new inchoation.

[39.](#) One study of the offices for Thomas Aquinas found a number of music manuscripts that included his main feast but never had Aquinas's Translation added; for another example, the transmitted offices for Catherine of Siena are quite diverse. Vuori, Räsänen, and Heikkinen, *Medieval Offices*, 24–43; Jones, “Catherine of Siena as a Creative Impulse,” 133–49.

[40.](#) *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:292–93, 299–300. For the introduction of Wenceslas and Louis IX, among other changes listed here, see Bonniwell, *History*, 201–3.

[41.](#) When competing general chapters were called in 1380, the six provincial priors that reported to the Avignon obedience governed the provinces of France, Spain, Toulouse, Provence, Sicily, and perhaps also Aragon. The Roman obedience comprised the provinces of Rome, Upper Lombardy, Lower Lombardy, Hungary, Poland, Greece, Teutonia, Saxony, England, Dacia, Bohemia, and the Holy Land. Mortier, *Histoire*, 3:492–93, 495–96.

[42.](#) See “anti-general chapter [anticapitulum generale],” “anti-master general [antimagistro ordinis],” and “anti-provincial prior [antiprovincialem]” at *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:10, 23–24.

[43.](#) *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:180–81. This data is unreliable, but the point is reinforced by the competing source. The edition includes a second list purporting to be the legislation inchoated at Freiburg (1419), approved at Metz (1421), and confirmed at Pavia (1423). This list contains only the eight liturgical changes, omitting the four constitutional changes that appear on the other Pavia list, and adds five further liturgical measures that it claims were confirmed at the same time. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:160–61.

[44.](#) The marginalia in Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.q.54 record changes to the Apparition of Michael (f. 2v and 69r), Barbara (f. 60r), the Ten Thousand Martyrs (f. 70r), the Octave of All Saints (f. 79v), the Little Office of the Virgin (f. 91v), and the litany (f. 140r).

45. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:30–31, 93. For summaries of the issue, see Izbicki, “The Immaculate Conception,” 150–51; Bonniwell, *History*, 240–42.

46. When the order first instituted the feast in 1348, it assigned the feast to the Friday after the octave of Corpus Christi. “The Translation of Peter Martyr should be made a totum duplex feast on the Friday after the octave of Corpus Christi. [Quod de translacione beati Petri martyris fiat festum totum duplex feria sexta post octavas corporis Christi.]” *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:321.

47. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:31, 92, 134.

48. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:244, 251.

49. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:31.

50. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:280, 291.

51. Championed by the crusader Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405), the Eastern feast of Mary’s Presentation had become widespread in the Latin West by the fifteenth century. Coleman, *Philippe de Mézières’ Campaign*, 4–6, 9–13; Kishpaugh, *Feast of the Presentation*, 92–104, 119–32. The office with which the Dominican order celebrated the feast of the Visitation was composed by Master General Raymond of Capua, edited in *Opuscula et Litterae*, 39–50. For an overview of the late medieval Marian feasts and their growth within the Roman and Avignonese Obediences, see Calabuig, “Liturgical Cult of Mary,” 284–97. I owe thanks to Juliette Calvarin for her generous conversations with me on this topic.

52. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:112, 133, 137.

53. Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.q.54, f. 69r.

54. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:148.

55. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:92, 93, 104, 160.

56. This being said, the surviving acts of the general chapter from the fifteenth century are themselves less terminologically precise. They instead rely on recording the number of chapters that had ratified the measure, although these too are unreliable. For example, in 1431 there is an inchoation with two chapters, in 1434 an approbation with three chapters, and in 1462 an inchoation with three chapters that is repeated verbatim (as an inchoation with three chapters) in 1465. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:209, 227, 280, 291.

57. For Vincent Ferrer’s canonization, see Smoller, *Saint and Chopped-Up Baby*, 49–84.

58. A Vincent appears together with Thomas Aquinas and Peter Martyr in an annotation to the chapter on saints’ octaves on f. 56v, but this is the Roman martyr, whose commemoration during his octave was confirmed in 1370. *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:413.

59. Smith, *Bible Missals*, 52.

60. Smith, 51 n. 8.

61. For Smith’s full discussion of the available resources and previous attempts to date liturgical manuscripts by the acts of the general chapter, see Smith, “Doers of the Word,” 7–10. See also Martin Morard’s discussion of an identical problem with Carthusian legislation and Carthusian liturgical manuscripts in “Dater par les calendriers,” 342–45.

62. Creytens, “L’ordinaire,” 144. The date is included in a colophon following the list of uncertainties. “The aforesaid questions were not written in an organized manner, but rather as they occurred to me, in the month of March, 1421 [Predicta dubia non ordinate sed prout occurrerunt, ita sunt scripta in mense marcio 1421].” Creytens, 167.

63. Creytens, 144–72.

64. Creytens, 135. The Würzburg friary belonged to the Würzburg diocese, whereas Nuremberg fell within the diocese of Bamberg.

65. The explicit purpose of the *dubia* is to request decisions from the general chapter; however, even earlier in the text, the compiler repeatedly notes where there is uncertainty about a practice. See, for example, concerning the *Te Deum*: “If, however, it should not be sung, a clear declaration must be

made, so that it is known for certain what should be done. [Si vero cantari non debeat, fiat de hoc omnino declaracio certa, ut pro certo sciatur quid fieri debeat.]” Creytens, 147. Likewise, the office to be said for the feast of the Sanctification of the Blessed Virgin Mary: “If this should be done differently, it should be declared, or a liturgy and *historia* should be provided. [Si hoc aliter fieri debeat, declaretur, vel de officio et historia provideatur.]” Creytens, 149.

[66.](#) von Loe, *Teutonia*, 15.

[67.](#) As Creytens observed, the compiler as a rule omitted the declarations or admonitions, which rendered judgment on the interpretation of a passage without altering the text, as well as the changes in the rank of various saints’ feasts. Creytens, “L’ordinaire,” 137. In general, the rank of a saint’s feast was not recorded in the ordinarium but only on the calendar, and one would therefore not expect to find such measures reflected in the ordinarium. This being said, several feasts had been upgraded to totum duplex, meaning that a sequence was required for their mass and ought to have been recorded in the ordinarium. This affected, for example, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Mary Magdalene, and Vincent Martyr, as discussed above, but the 1421 treatise does not provide sequences for any of these feasts. Creytens also states that the compiler failed to include the new feast of St. Laurence, but the acts of the general chapter that he cites for this claim pertain also to a change in rank, not a new feast. Humbert’s propagated liturgy includes St. Laurence at the rank of semiduplex and the legislation identified by Creytens proposes elevating Laurence to the rank of duplex. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:148, 160, 164, 180.

[68.](#) Late Dominican ordinals copied without the intervening additions survive; for example, Stuttgart, WLB, HB I 182 is a Latin Dominican ordinarium dated to the beginning of the sixteenth century, which nevertheless lacks the intervening changes. Fiala and Hauke, *Handschriften der ehemaligen königlichen Hofbibliothek*, 1,2:61–62.

[69.](#) The compiler reminisces, “I once saw a remarkable, major argument between a certain English lector and our senior friars. [Vidi ego aliquando notabilem magnam contencionem inter quemdam lectorem anglicum et nostros seniores fratres.]” Creytens, “L’ordinaire,” 144.

[70.](#) Creytens, 147.

[71.](#) Creytens, 146–47.

[72.](#) Creytens, 155–58.

[73.](#) Creytens, 155.

[74.](#) For example, he points out that the instructions for the collects on the Eve of St. Andrew did not at all mention St. Saturninus, whose feast day it actually was. Creytens, 156.

[75.](#) Creytens, 161.

[76.](#) Schneider-Ferber, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kunigunde*, 132–33; Guth, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kaiserin Kunigunde*, 106–7.

[77.](#) Creytens, “L’ordinaire,” 164–65.

[78.](#) For a treatment of Kunigunde as empress, focused on the liturgical construction of female royal power, see MacLean, *Ottonian Queenship*, 180–206.

[79.](#) Creytens, “L’ordinaire,” 162.

[80.](#) *Ordinarium*, 172–73 (§655). For an extensive treatment of the evolution of the adoration of the cross and its varieties in medieval practice, see Monti, *Sense of the Sacred*, 404–34.

[81.](#) Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum V–VI*, 378 (VI, c. 77, §22).

[82.](#) *Ordinarium*, 171 (§653).

[83.](#) *Ordinarium*, 174 (§656).

[84.](#) *Ordinarium*, 175 (§657).

[85.](#) “Where it says in the ordinarium that the friars go shoeless on Good Friday, or enter the chapter, delete it all. [Ubi dicitur in ordinario, quod fratres in paraseve discalciati vadant, vel intrent capitulum, deleatur totum.]” *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:86.

[86](#). “Where it says in the ordinarium that the friars on Good Friday go shoeless and enter the chapter, delete shoeless [Ubi dicitur in ordinario, quod fratres in parasceve discalciati vadant et intrent capitulum, deleatur discalceati.]” *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:91, 95.

[87](#). *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:164, 167, 171.

[88](#). Michael Vargas and John Van Engen make similar arguments about Dominican austerity. Namely, through the mechanism of dispensations, by which scholars and students could be excused from fasting and liturgical obligations, the strict lifestyle of the early friars relaxed during the later thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. Van Engen, “From Canons to Preachers,” 290–93; Vargas, “Weak Obedience.”

[89](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, ff. 79v–80r and 178v. For Ferrer’s canonization and liturgy, see Smoller, *Saint and Chopped-Up Baby*, 49–84; Brown, “Songs for the Saints of the Schism,” 104–7, 141–51.

[90](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, f. 183v. The acts of the general chapter from the fifteenth century are extremely messy, imprecise, and incomplete, making it difficult to determine precisely when feasts were confirmed. St. Anne and the Feast of the Transfiguration first appear as inchoations in the acts of the 1459 general chapter held in Nijmegen. There is no mention of them in the edited acts of the 1462 general chapter in Siena, where Catherine of Siena’s canonization was announced, but they are recorded in the 1465 general chapter of Novara as having the ratification of two general chapters, which does not conform to Dominican law. It is likely that they were confirmed with the third ratification in 1465 and that the manuscript record is imprecise. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:269, 292.

[91](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, conventual missal: ff. 196r–208v, private missal: ff. 208v–210r, *correctura*: ff. 214ar–232r, and index: ff. 233r–242v.

[92](#). The additional missal material in the Nuremberg manuscript, from both the conventual and the private missals, corresponds precisely to the extra material edited as Appendixes 2 and 3 in the *Ordinarium*.

[93](#). Ingeborg Neske identified two main hands whose contributions are largely divided by quire, as well as a third hand that contributed to the extremely disorganized section on masses for the Temporale. Furthermore, the bastarda script she identified is often accompanied at the beginning and end of the passage by an extremely messy cursive that supplies both the rubrics and often the first line of text. Neske, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 2:108–10.

[94](#). I give the skipped text that is added in the marginal annotation in brackets: “Ad laudes a. Dum complerentur. a. Spiritus. a. Repleti. a. Fontes. a. Loquebantur. Cap. Factus est. ymnus. [Inpleta. v. Spiritus paraclitus. Ad Benedictus a. Accipite. oratio. Deus qui hodierna. Ad terciam ymnus.] Veni creator.” Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, f. 46v. It is easy to see how the scribe skipped from “ymnus” to “ymnus.” The marginal annotation is in the same hand as the main text block.

[95](#). I give the skipped text in brackets, drawn from the edited ordinarium, because it was never supplied in the Nuremberg manuscript. “Postco. [Refecti. Eodem die: Sanctorum Cornelii et Cypriani Martyrum. Oratio. Infirmi. Sec. Plebis. Postcomm.] Quesumus.” Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, f. 187r; *Ordinarium*, 205 (§839).

[96](#). For Matthias Weinsperger, see Bock, “Nürnberger Predigerkloster,” 180–81; Willing, *Bibliothek*, xxv.

[97](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, ff. 131r–135v.

[98](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, ff. 223v–224r.

[99](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, f. 134r.

[100](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, ff. 82v and 180r, and ff. 86r and 182r, respectively.

[101](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, ff. 174r, 181v, 174v.

[102](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, f. 104r.

[103](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, ff. 48v–49v and f. 169v.

[104](#). Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.q.54, f. 145v.

[105](#). “We entrust to Master Johannes Nider, the prior of Basel in the province of Teutonia, and to Master Guido Flamochetti, the prior of Cambrai in the province of France, that by the next chapter they should review the diversity of the rubrics and constitutions, harmonize the differences, and present [these] to the diffinitors of the general chapter. [Committimus magistro Ioanni Nider, priori Basiliensi provincie Theutonie, et magistro Guidoni Flamocheti priori Cambriaci provincie Francie, quod super diversitate rubricarum et constitucionum usque ad sequens capitulum videant, dissonancias concordent, et teneantur presentare diffinitoribus capituli generalis.]” *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:220.

[106](#). Creytens, “L’ordinaire,” 138–39.

[107](#). The general chapter seems to have given up on liturgical uniformity by the 1480s, when legislation was ratified confirming the ancient tradition of permitting communities to celebrate feasts that were important in their region. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:376, 391, 394.

[108](#). *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:160, 238, 280, 292.

[109](#). *Acta Capitulorum*, 4:85.

[110](#). *Acta Capitulorum*, 4:95, 126, 158.

[111](#). Juan of Palencia, *Ordinarium Sacrarum Caeremoniarum*, II:104v. For Juan of Palencia’s work, see Bonniwell, *History*, 282–83.

Chapter 4

1. Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 75v. I have not transcribed the diacritical marks that appear in the manuscript. The question mark in my translation represents the word *súlhcher*, for which I can find no satisfactory meaning. The transcription in the catalog has “geben” for “golten,” which is incorrect. Petzet, *Die deutschen Pergamenthandschriften*, 306. Wolfram Schneider-Lastin identified the dialect as East Swabian. Schneider-Lastin, “Literaturproduktion,” 195.

2. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 744/986, p. 310.

3. Helbling, “Das Gotzhus Sant Vrenen.”

4. Marius Schramke analyzed the German-language ordinarium from St. Katherine in Freiburg but without connecting it to the other surviving manuscripts. Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 124–36.

5. The strongest recent rehabilitation of fourteenth-century German Dominican women’s cultural production focuses on a northern German convent. Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*. See also older studies, such as Schiewer, “Literarisches Leben”; Thali, *Beten—Schreiben—Lesen*. Marius Schramke argued for the intellectual and liturgical vibrance of pre-reformed and unreformed Dominican communities in the German-speaking south, but his sources are mainly from the fifteenth century. Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*.

6. For the sisters’ agency in this decision, see Kurpiewski, “Power in Pursuit of Religion.”

7. For brief overviews, see Beebe, “Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages”; Roest, “Observant Reform.” The reform movements of the religious orders were also connected to the broader conciliarist reform movements of the Church at large. Bellitto, “Reform Context”; Christianson, Izbicki, and Bellitto, *The Church, the Councils, and Reform*. Two edited volumes provide the best overviews of the Observant movement. The volume edited by Kaspar Elm is organized by religious order and provides historical groundwork; the volume edited by James Mixson and Bert Roest is organized thematically and the essays examine important issues that cut across the orders. Elm, *Reformbemühungen*; Mixson and Roest, *Companion to Observant Reform*.

8. James Mixson emphasizes that the diversity in religious orders entailed a diversity in the ideals of reform. Mixson, “Conceptual Frameworks.”

9. Meyer, *Women’s History*, 136.

10. Hillenbrand, “Observantenbewegung.”

11. For an overview of reform procedures, see Meyer, *Women’s History*, 19–22; Neidhardt, *Autonomie im Gehorsam*, 94–99. For a description of the measures taken to maintain enclosure while transporting sisters, see Neidhardt, “Die Reise der Dominikanerinnen,” 113.

12. The *locus classicus* for women’s active support in the fifteenth-century convent reforms is Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, 97–128. See also Neidhardt, *Autonomie im Gehorsam*; Uffmann, *Wie in einem Rosengarten*.

13. The ordinances are edited from other manuscripts in von Kern, “Reformation des Katharinenklosters,” 17–20.

14. See Mossman, “The Literary Culture”; Winston-Allen, “Making Manuscripts”; Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen*, chaps. 4–5; Willing, *Bibliothek*, lxxxi–ci; Nemes, “Dis buch”; Ehrenschtendner, *Bildung*, 288–302.

15. I treat this curious transmission at length in Jones, “Liturgical Manuals.”

16. See Meyer, *Das Amptbuch*, 2–11; Seebald, *Reform als Textstrategie*, 326–30.

17. Björn Buschbeck has conducted a thorough study of book transmission through reform parties with special attention to the contracts specifying which books were transferred permanently and which were to be returned to the first community upon the sister reformer’s death. Buschbeck, “Nuns Traveling with Manuscripts.”

18. Göttingen, SUB, 8^o cod. ms. theol. 236, f. 130v–131v.
19. For evidence of separate libraries maintained for the use of a convent’s confessors, see Mossman, “The Literary Culture,” 203–9; Ehrenschwendtner, *Bildung*, 313. Eva Schlotheuber has contested Ehrenschwendtner’s interpretation of the evidence from Altenhohenau. Schlotheuber, “Bücher und Bildung,” 176–78.
20. Griffiths, *Garden of Delights*, esp. 36–38; Beach, “Listening for the Voices.”
21. Colmar, bibliothèque municipale, ms. 411, ff. 128r–133v.
22. “The collects of the Temporale and of the Sanctorale and for the Dead should be said, and one should observe their number and order throughout the year, as is indicated in the missal. [Die collecten von dem zite vnd von den heiligen vnd von dien toten sol man sprechen vnd ir zal vnd ir ordenunge halten durch alles iar als es an dem messbûche gezeichnet ist.]” Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 48v; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 744/986, p. 209. The Zurich translation handles the mass prefaces in the same way as it does the collects: “One speaks the prefaces as they are indicated in the missal. [Die prefaciones spreche man als si an dem mess bûche gezeichnet sint.]” Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 50r; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 744/986, p. 213.
23. Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 162v.
24. Mossman, “The Literary Culture,” 203–9; Ehrenschwendtner, *Bildung*, 313; Schlotheuber, “Bücher und Bildung,” 176–78. In his *Book of Duties*, Johannes Meyer prescribes an arrangement in which a male churchwarden and a female sacristan care for the external church under the oversight of the enclosed sacristan. Meyer, *Das Amptbuch*, 198, 200, 393, 395.
25. The convent of St. Katherine in Nuremberg had an external sacristy, although the sisters’ letters mention only male churchwardens and no female assistants. *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 633. For a study of the many different places in which liturgical books might be kept, see Irving, “The Library.”
26. Monti, *Sense of the Sacred*, 36, 49–50. For censing and sensory experience, see Baum, *Reformation of the Senses*, 30–35. Phyllis Zagano provides an excellent brief summary of the roles restricted to deacons and the slow exclusion of women from performing them. Zagano, “Women Deacons.” For a longer overview of the deacon’s roles and the slow exclusion of women from this office, see Macy, *Hidden History*.
27. *Ordinarium*, 239–40 (appendix 2 §69–72).
28. *Ordinarium*, 72–73 (§290–94).
29. *Ordinarium*, 73 (§290).
30. Colmar, bibliothèque municipale, ms. 411, f. 69r; St. Peter pap. 45, f. 88r.
31. Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 87r.
32. The chapter on censing ought to be between the chapters on totum duplex feasts and on octaves in Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 27, f. 40v.
33. “And the prioress should ... cense the Sacrament of Our Lord again and kiss the altar in the middle. [Vnd sol die priolin ... aber denn beröchen vnsers herren fronlicham vnd den altar enmitten küssen.]” Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter perg. 31, f. 133v.
34. The passage actually deals with the epistle, but the principle applies. *Ordinarium*, 249 (appendix 3 §123).
35. Macy, *Hidden History*, 100–103.
36. For the order’s swift move away from abbots, see Tugwell, “Evolution I.” The Dominicans consciously eschewed the traditional rites for the consecration and coronation of virgins. These rituals were regulated by canon law and could be performed only by a bishop. See Borders, “Gender, Performativity, and Allusion.” Schlotheuber argues that Dominicans chose to avoid such consecrations as part of sisters’ professions so that widows, who were barred from being consecrated in this manner for obvious reasons, would not become second-class citizens in Dominican convents. Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*, 1:60–63.

37. *Ordinarium*, 226 (appendix 1 §12); London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 48v–49r. The following instructions make this explicit and further specify that the last lesson should always be read by a priest: “For the seventh lesson, the weekly deacon should be assigned, and for the ninth the weekly priest or presider. [Ad septimam lectionem notetur Diaconus hebdomadarius et ad nonam Sacerdos hebdomadarius, vel qui facit Officium.]” *Ordinarium*, 231 (appendix 1 §29).

38. *Ordinarium*, 12 (§42).

39. Colmar, bibliothèque municipale, ms. 411, f. 10r.

40. Colmar, bibliothèque municipale, ms. 411, f. 10r.

41. Göttingen, SUB, 8^o Cod. Ms. Theol. 236, f. 109v

42. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 10r; Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 7r; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 744/986, p. 18.

43. Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 18v–19r; St. Peter perg. 31, f. 11r. The copy owned by St. Katherine in Freiburg left out what the priest should wear: Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 27, f. 7r.

44. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 9r; Munich, BSB, cgm 62, f. 9r. The translation makes the same comment about the gospel reading *Factum est* after matins on Epiphany. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 11v; Munich, BSB, cgm 62, f. 11v–12r.

45. London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 546v–547r.

46. The model gospel melodies are found at the beginning of the evangeliary in London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 545r–546r. See also Giraud, “Melodic Lection Marks.”

47. I thank Alison Altstatt for suggesting this second possibility to me.

48. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 9r.

49. Munich, BSB, cgm 62, f. 9r.

50. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 69, f. 272r, 281r.

51. “On Christmas, for the gospel *Liber generationis* write it this way: for the gospel *Liber generationis*, Sister so-and-so and Sister so-and-so. [In Nativitate domini Ad Ewangelium *liber generacionis* scribi hoc modo: Ad Ewangelium *liber generacionis*, Soror talis et Soror talis.]” Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 69, f. 283v.

52. *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 548. See also “one chantress for the gospel [1 sengerin zû dem ewangelio].” “*Das Konventsbuch,*” 547.

53. *Ordinarium*, 123–34 (§486–513).

54. Dominic seems to have adopted the investment in women’s enclosure from the papacy. Doyno, “Roman Women,” 1044–48, 1056–62. Julie Ann Smith notes that, in a 1220 letter, Dominic urged the women’s community in Madrid to observe enclosure, but this did not constitute a regulation. Smith, “Prouille,” 347.

55. For classic introductions to female monastic enclosure, see Schulenburg, “Strict Active Enclosure”; Brundage and Makowski, “Enclosure of Nuns.” For recent volumes devoted to questions of nuns’ enclosure in the late medieval and early modern periods, see Pérez Vidal, *Women Religious*; Schlothuber and Hirbodian, *Zwischen Klausur und Welt*.

56. “Liber const. sor.,” 347 (c. 29).

57. “Liber const. sor.,” 347 (c. 29).

58. In Colmar, bibliothèque municipale, ms. 411, several blank folios follow the chapter on the reception of novices (ff. 116v–119v). The *ordinarium* text resumes on f. 120r with the chapter on the chapter meeting (*De pretiosa*). This raises the question of whether someone had initially intended to include these chapters, enough to leave space for them.

59. Göttingen, SUB, 8^o Cod. Ms. Theol. 236, f. 127v–128v; Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 85v–89v; Munich, BSB, cgm 62, f. 82r–85r.

60. Jones, *Ruling the Spirit*, 140–41. For documented evidence of sisters from existing houses founding new communities, see Wilms, *Das älteste Verzeichnis*, 28, 29, 33, 37, 40, 42, 48, 60–61, 62,

66, 69, 71–72, 78; Osten-Hoschek, *Reform und Liturgie*, 16. There is some scholarly doubt as to whether women were brought from Prouille to Rome when the women of San Sisto were given statutes composed by Dominic. Whatever the historical reality, the fact that Dominican historiography claims this occurred reveals the extent to which such personnel transfer was considered an important administrative tool. Smith, “Prouille,” 350. Mary Doyno has recently argued that if Prouille women did go to Rome, then it was so that they could learn from the San Sisto women, rather than the other way around. Doyno, “Roman Women,” 1063.

[61.](#) Hirbodan, “Die Dominikanerinnen,” 23–28.

[62.](#) Most of the evidence for the convent’s switch from the Magdalene to the Dominican order comes from papal bulls, which were quite far removed from any events on the ground. Armgart, *Reuerinnen- und Dominikanerinnen-Kloster*, 77–86.

[63.](#) Osten-Hoschek, *Reform und Liturgie*, 21–26; Meyer, *Women’s History*, 174–80; von Kern, “Reformation des Katharinenklosters.”

[64.](#) Duval, “Mulieres Religiosae”; Ehrenschwendtner, “Creating the Sacred Space Within”; Ehrenschwendtner, “Virtual Pilgrimages”; Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, 152–61; Uffmann, “Inside and Outside”; Engler, *Regelbuch*, 122–23, 260–64.

[65.](#) Steinke, *Paradiesgarten*, 55–56; Osten-Hoschek, *Reform und Liturgie*, 38–42.

[66.](#) The version of these ordinances owned by St. Katherine in Nuremberg commands that “no one should go into the cloister, whether he is a prelate or whoever he is, for the purpose of visitation or chapter meeting, but instead this should occur outside [sol nieman in dz closter gan, es sig prälat oder wer er ist, durch visitierens willen oder capitels willen, besunder es sol uswendig geschehen].” Engler, *Regelbuch*, 126. Engler also edits the lengthier version found in Friar Johannes Meyer’s personal notebook. “Item, by order of this same decree, I forbid you from permitting entrance to man or woman, religious or secular person, not to me, nor to any other vicar, nor to any of our superiors. You should not open your doors, neither for visitation, nor for a chapter meeting, because all of this can be done at the speaking window. [Item bey demselben bannes gebüt wil ich das ir weder manne noch fröwen geistliche oder weltliche noch auch mich noch keinen anderen vicarie noch keinen von unsern obersten beynichte süllent inlassen, weder umb visitirens willen oder capitels willen über türen üf tün süllent, wan man dz alles an dem venster tün mag.]” Engler, 309–10.

[67.](#) An account written by a contemporary sister stresses that Texier was present in Nuremberg and that the procedures ran according to his will, although he does not seem to have interacted with the sisters directly, likely because of a language barrier (Texier was French). In his place, the Nuremberg prior, Friar Johannes Nider, presided over the chapter meeting at which the Schönensteinbach reforming sisters were installed. Von Kern, “Reformation des Katharinenklosters,” 7–9.

[68.](#) *Ordinarium*, 128 (§495), 129 (§500–501).

[69.](#) *Ordinarium*, 129 (§499).

[70.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 87v. The constitutions actually require that visitors be accompanied by three older sisters plus the prioress: “When one of the aforesaid persons enters, the prioress with three of the older sisters should always accompany him. [Quando uero aliquis predictorum ingrediatur, priorissa cum tribus de antiquioribus eum semper comitetur.]” “Liber const. sor.,” 347 (c. 29).

[71.](#) Göttingen, SUB, 8^o cod. theol. ms. 236, f. 128r

[72.](#) Göttingen, SUB, 8^o cod. theol. ms. 236, f. 128v.

[73.](#) Göttingen, SUB, 8^o cod. ms. theol. 236, f. 128v; *Ordinarium*, 129 (§501).

[74.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 89r.

[75.](#) Margot Fassler explores this procession and its place in early Dominican chronicles in Fassler, “Music and the Miraculous,” 238–43. See also Pérez Vidal’s more thorough discussion of

earlier sources for the Dominican practice in Pérez Vidal, “Compline and Its Processions,” 256–60.

[76.](#) For a case study of a women’s rogation procession causing controversy because it broke enclosure, see Altstatt, “Rogationtide Processions.” For rogation processions in general, see Ristuccia, *Christianization and Commonwealth*.

[77.](#) For discussions of the ideals and practices of poverty in Dominican friaries, see Mixson, *Poverty’s Proprietors*; Neidiger, “Armutsbegriff.”

[78.](#) For studies of the economies of southern German Dominican convents, see Krauer et al., “Klosterfrauen wirtschaften”; Hömberg, “Wirtschafts(Buch)führung”; Klapp, “Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit”; Armgart, “Klosterreform und Wirtschaft.”

[79.](#) See, for example, the Palm Sunday procession: *Ordinarium*, 163–64 (§642).

[80.](#) For discussions of the Dominican *Salve regina* procession, see Hoefener, “*Salve Regina*”; Pérez Vidal, “Compline and Its Processions”; Bonniwell, *History*, 149–55, 161–62.

[81.](#) Jäggi, *Frauenklöster*, 18–19, 189–91; Schenkluhn, *Architektur der Bettelorden*, 81–83.

[82.](#) “If external persons are present, the friars should enter the choir and there say the *Pater noster* and *Credo* in their seats with the customary bows and prostrations. If, however, there are no external persons present, they should say it outside [i.e., outside of the choir in the external church]. [Si extranei interfuerint, intrent Fratres Chorum, et ibi dicant *Pater Noster* et *Credo* in locis suis cum consuetis inclinationibus et prostrationibus. Si vero extranei non interfuerint, dicant extra.]” *Ordinarium*, 121 (§481).

[83.](#) Pérez Vidal, “Compline and Its Processions,” 260.

[84.](#) Pérez Vidal, 262–65.

[85.](#) *Ordinarium*, 121 (§481).

[86.](#) Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 44r; Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 102v; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 744/986, p. 192–93.

[87.](#) Göttingen, SUB, 8^o Cod. Ms. Theol. 236, f. 127r. The only confusing aspect of the Speyer translation regards whether the antiphon should be intoned by one singer or two. All other versions specify that on duplex and totum duplex feasts the chantress and subchantress together intone the antiphon, and on all other days only one singer intones it. The mention of duplex and totum duplex feasts is omitted from the Speyer translation, likely as an oversight, so it is not clear on which days the two chantresses intone the *Salve regina*.

[88.](#) Colmar, bibliothèque municipale, ms. 411, f. 113r–114r.

[89.](#) “And the candle-bearers return to their places [vnd dy kerczentragerin sich fügen an ir stät].” Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 84r; Munich, BSB, cgm 62, f. 81r.

[90.](#) Karlsruhe, BSB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 139r; St. Peter perg. 31, f. 140v; Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 27, f. 61v.

[91.](#) Karlsruhe, BLB St. Peter pap. 45, f. 228v.

[92.](#) In addition, the Nuremberg translation and two witnesses of the Freiburg translation also contain rubrics for receiving communion, which are drawn from the conventual missal. (Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 129r–130v; Munich, BSB, cgm 62, f. 114r–116r; Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 226v–227r; Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 27, f. 86r–87r.) The St. Verena manuscript includes the rites for death and burial drawn from the obsequial. (Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 744/986, p. 286–310.)

[93.](#) The manuscript from St. Katherine in Freiburg (Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 27) contains neither the excerpt from the private missal nor the excerpt from the lectionary that the other two manuscripts share, but its version of the excerpts from the conventual missal is more up to date than that in the manuscript from St. Agnes (Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap 45). In contrast, the manuscript from Weiler (St. Peter perg 31) contains the excerpt from the private missal but not those from the

conventual missal; nor does it contain the instructions for communion shared by the other two manuscripts.

- [94.](#) Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, ff. 227v–228r.
- [95.](#) *Ordinarium*, 233–34 (appendix 2 §36).
- [96.](#) Zimmer, “Funktion und Ausstattung,” 29–35. Johannes Meyer’s *Amptbuch* provides guidance for the novice mistress to teach the young sisters the sacristan’s duties in decorating and caring for the altars. Meyer, *Das Amptbuch*, 279–80, 462.
- [97.](#) Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 227v.
- [98.](#) *Ordinarium*, 234–35 (appendix 2 §38–43).
- [99.](#) *Ordinarium*, 241 (appendix 2 §76) and 242 (§84–85).
- [100.](#) *Ordinarium*, 238 (appendix 2 §63).
- [101.](#) Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, ff. 223r–v. *Ordinarium*, appendix 3.
- [102.](#) Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 223r.
- [103.](#) *Ordinarium*, 233 (appendix 2 §34).
- [104.](#) For a comparison of these principles, see Jones, “Bedeutungsvielfalt.”
- [105.](#) London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 141r.
- [106.](#) Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 73r; Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 139v–140r; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 744/986, p. 282.
- [107.](#) London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 180v and 182r.
- [108.](#) Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 744/986, p. 311–15.
- [109.](#) Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 75r; “Tult, II.”
- [110.](#) Holladay, “Competition for Saints,” 49.
- [111.](#) *Ordinarium*, 77 (§303).
- [112.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 86r, 88v, 134r, 136r.
- [113.](#) Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 744/986, p. 280.
- [114.](#) Creytens, “L’ordinaire,” 164–65.
- [115.](#) The category “virgin” is often used as a catchall for female saints, whatever their sexual experience may have been. However, in the later Middle Ages, Henry and Kunigunde’s legend presented their childless marriage as having been a chaste marriage from the start. Kandzha, “Virgins on the Throne.”
- [116.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 88v.
- [117.](#) Cited according to Engler, *Regelbuch*, 27. For the other books mentioned, see Engler’s excellent analysis of this passage.
- [118.](#) Engler, 27.
- [119.](#) Engler, 139–59, 172–73; Tanneberger, *Normative Basistexte*, 186–87; Sack, “Bruchstücke.”
- [120.](#) Willing, *Literatur und Ordensreform*, 257; Steinke, *Paradiesgarten*, 75–79; Spielvogel, “Georg Falder-Pistoris.”
- [121.](#) “Das hat uns vater Jörg Valdner geben / Das puch gab uns vater Jörg Valdner.” Ruf, *MBK*, 3,3:613. Willing includes the ordinarium translation in her discussion of Falder-Pistoris’s donations to the convent of St. Katherine, but she follows Karin Schneider’s catalog in misidentifying the text as a rituale. Willing, *Literatur und Ordensreform*, 46; Willing, *Bibliothek*, 488–89; Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 393. Igna Marion Kramp attributes the actual translation of Humbert’s commentary on the Augustinian rule to Falder-Pistoris, but there is no concrete evidence for whether he translated it himself or commissioned it from another friar. Kramp, *Mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche deutsche Übersetzungen*, 29.

Chapter 5

1. Schönensteinbach was located within the Gebweiler friary's terminus district, but that friary was not reformed until 1461. Master General Raymond of Capua therefore assigned Schönensteinbach to Colmar, the first Observant friary. *Opuscula et Litterae*, appendix 33 (n.p.). For the history of Schönensteinbach, see Meyer, *Women's History*, 39–84; Winnlen, "Schönensteinbach"; Barthelmé, *Réforme*, 33–34; Dietler, *Chronik*.

2. The chronicles of Schönensteinbach record the names of several of their confessors. See Meyer, *Women's History*, 147–49; Dietler, *Chronik*, 301–3, 314–17, 352, 419, 442, 446, 448.

3. London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 82r; Bonniwell, *History*, 108–9.

4. My explanation provides an extreme simplification of the complex rules provided in the Dominican ordinarium, which often entailed integrating elements of two different feasts together into one vespers. *Ordinarium*, 65–66 (§254–60) and 68–69 (§268).

5. *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:279.

6. *Ordinarium*, 68 (§268).

7. *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:162, 167, 177, 189, 195, 207.

8. The ordinarium does not explicitly state this, but the structure of the psalmody at matins betrays the connection: For octaves as for three-lesson feasts, one sings one antiphon over nine psalms at a single matins nocturn. *Ordinarium*, 69 (§269) and 74 (§296). In 1370, the Dominican general chapter ratified an inchoation to celebrate the octave of Michael with the full office in the same way that other saints' octaves were celebrated. The acts of the two following years are lost, but the chantress's note here suggests that the measure was never confirmed. *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:412.

9. Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25, f. 26r–v. The second Latin passage is written in a different hand.

10. Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 334. The catalog description may be found online under "Wissenschaftliche Beschreibung" at dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/sammlung7/werk/pdf/hs1500-15.pdf (accessed 5 August 2023).

11. I thank Kerstin Losert for providing me with images of the handwritten *Bandkatalog* and for adding the WLB manuscripts to the library's digitization program.

12. Meyer, *Women's History*, 72, 111–12.

13. It is not entirely certain when the sisters of St. Gallen first reached out to Nuremberg, but the exchange and the reform initiative became particularly intense in 1483 and continued into the sixteenth century. Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen*, 207–8 n. 13.

14. These hymns and their melodies are edited in Vuori, Räsänen, and Heikkinen, *Medieval Offices*, 119–20, 123–24, 152–53.

15. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 69, f. 61r.

16. See also my discussion in Jones, "Negotiating Liturgical Obligations," 32–33.

17. von Kern, "Reformation des Katharinenklosters," 9; Meyer, *Women's History*, 179.

18. For Karteuserin's scribal activity, see Sauer, "Zwischen Kloster und Welt."

19. Ruf, *MBK*, 3,3:613.

20. It is described in the same words as Georg Falder-Pistoris's translation, recorded under the signature G. I ("it contains our order's ordinarium [das helt in im unsers orden notel]"), and the particle *aber* (another) also suggests that it contained the same text. Ruf, 3,3:613.

21. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 76v.

22. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 24r.

23. Willing, *Bibliothek*, xiv–xvi. This was common for religious communities. Pérez Vidal, "Libros Miniare Potestis."

24. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 7r.

[25](#). The large-format breviary and the martyrology now held by the Russian State Library in Moscow are particularly promising. Barow-Vassilevitch and Heckmann, *Abendländische Handschriften*, 357–59.

[26](#). I am not aware of any extended studies of the Major Rogation, but for studies on the processions of the Minor Rogations (held the three days before Ascension) and their role in community identity formation, see Ristuccia, *Christianization and Commonwealth*; Altstatt, “Rogationtide Processions.”

[27](#). See, for example, Caspers, “On the Road”; Heath, “Secular Power”; Zika, “Hosts, Processions and Pilgrimages”; Niedermeier, “Sakramentsprozession.”

[28](#). Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten*, 109.

[29](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 31r.

[30](#). For altar-washing ceremonies in general, see Monti, *Sense of the Sacred*, 397–403; Nussbaum, “De altarium ablutione.”

[31](#). The instructions for the altar-washing ceremony are found at *Ordinarium*, 167–68 (§650).

[32](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 60v–61r. For an excellent discussion of this ceremony and the placement of the altars within the church of St. Katherine in Nuremberg, see Giraud, “Observant Dominican Nuns’ Processionals.”

[33](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 79r–83r.

[34](#). “If the exterior area is not apt for the procession, or if the number of friars is notably small, it is not necessary to go out, but rather everything should be done in the choir, with the candle-bearers standing before the steps of the sanctuary in the aforesaid manner. [Quod si locus exterior non est aptus ad processionem, vel si Fratres fuerint pauci notabiliter, non oportet exire extra, sed in Choro fiant omnia, ceteroferariis tamen secundum modum supradictum stantibus ante gradus Presbyterii.]” *Ordinarium*, 121 (§481).

[35](#). Engler, *Regelbuch*, 127.

[36](#). Deinhardt, *Dedicationes Bambergenses*, 89–90.

[37](#). The list on this inserted note corresponds to the route given in the letters that the Nuremberg sisters sent to St. Gallen. *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 635–36. For a summary of the changes to the altar-washing ceremony of St. Katherine in Nuremberg, see Giraud, “Observant Dominican Nuns’ Processionals,” 40–44.

[38](#). For a discussion of such shifts, in particular with respect to the altar-washing ceremony, see Jones, “Liturgical Manuals,” 305–7.

[39](#). The general chapter decisions reflected in the base text of Margareta Karteuserin’s directorium include, for example, a general mandate that St. Barbara be celebrated at the rank of three lessons (Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 4v); the introduction of the Apparition of Michael (Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 37r); the introduction of a solemn octave for the feast of All Saints, which in turn forced the Four Crowned Martyrs to November 10 (Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 100r); and the introduction of the Feast of the Visitation of Mary, which forced Processus and Martinian to July 3 (Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 57r).

[40](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 135v.

[41](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, ff. 133r–136v. These guidelines were actually developed by a Colmar friar, not by one of the sisters. See the discussion in [Appendix 5](#). The directions closely resemble but are not identical to the appendix in the St. Verena German ordinarium translation (Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 744/986, p. 311–15). See [Chapter 4](#).

[42](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, ff. 121r–125v.

[43](#). For the development of Vincent Ferrer’s cult, see Smoller, *Saint and Chopped-Up Baby*. The bibliography on Catherine of Siena is vast, but for an introduction to the main areas of scholarship,

see Muessig, Ferzoco, and Kienzle, *A Companion to Catherine of Siena*. The most thorough study of the liturgies for their feasts is still Brown, “Songs for the Saints of the Schism.”

[44](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 30v.

[45](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cent. VII, 17, f. 79v–80r.

[46](#). I have previously discussed the problem of scheduling Catherine of Siena’s feast in Jones, “Catherine of Siena as a Creative Impulse,” 128–33; Jones, “Negotiating Liturgical Obligations.”

[47](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 33r.

[48](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 34r and f. 107v.

[49](#). Altstatt, “The Music and Liturgy of Kloster Preetz,” 45; Beuckers, *Das “Buch im Chore,”* 21.

For a colorful description of this phenomenon in the Dominican context, see Bonniwell, *History*, 236–39, 261–64, 267–71.

[50](#). This was a common arrangement for liturgies of the secular use, the format that the Dominican Rite followed. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 61; Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 87. The standard Dominican ordinarium explains the principle of matins homilies and how to reschedule them. *Ordinarium*, 3 (§8).

[51](#). Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 134–35.

[52](#). This measure was ratified at the general chapters in 1352, 1353, and 1354. *Acta Capitulum*, 2:339, 346, 357.

[53](#). For the inchoation and approbation, see *Acta Capitulum*, 2:393, 397. As I discussed in [Chapter 3](#), the acts from this general chapter do not survive, but marginal annotations in the standard Latin ordinarium now held in Würzburg record that the Tuesday observance for Dominic did indeed receive the final confirmation at this general chapter.

[54](#). See *Acta Capitulum*, 3:165, 227, 243.

[55](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 143v. The acts of the general chapter record: “After many ordinances made in previous general chapters, indeed we renew that, if a feast of three lessons falls on a Sunday, a Tuesday, or a Saturday, then everywhere in our order St. Dominic should be celebrated on Tuesday and the Blessed Virgin on Saturday; if there is a free ferial day within the week immediately following, then an office for the three-lesson feast may be celebrated, otherwise only a memoria should be held for that feast on its proper day. [Imo pocius renovamus post multas ordinationes in premissis capitulis generalibus factas, quod, si festum trium lectionum evenerit in dominica die vel tertia feria vel sabbato, ubique in nostro ordine fiat in tertia feria de beato Dominico et in sabbato de beata virgine; et de festo trium lectionum, si infra octo dies immediate sequentes sit feria vacans, officium fiat, alias vero fiat memoria die suo de dicto festo.]” *Acta Capitulum*, 3:259, 269, 280. (I have transcribed the quote from the 1456 inchoation. The final confirmation in 1462 was recorded in a different wording and combined with an inchoation concerning the feast of St. Blasius.)

[56](#). *Acta Capitulum*, 3:390, 394, 412.

[57](#). *Acta Capitulum*, 3:160, 164, 180.

[58](#). The annotation in Karteuserin’s Sanctorale directorium records only that the permission comes from the provincial prior. The copy produced in 1467 by Elisabeth Schürstabin includes the provincial prior’s name. “Saint Barbara: We have permission from the provincial prior Peter Wellen that we may hold simplex for Saint Barbara. [Wir haben s barbara vrlawb von dem provincial peter belli daz wir mügen simplex halten von sant barbara.]” Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 69, f. 255r. The Dominican order did eventually elevate Barbara to the rank of simplex with the three required ratifications at the general chapters in 1523, 1525, and 1530. *Acta Capitulum*, 4:181, 198, 221.

[59](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 144v.

[60](#). *Ordinarium*, 67 (§262).

[61](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 46r.

[62.](#) *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:280, 291. As discussed in [Chapter 3](#), during the Western Schism, the general chapter of the Avignon Obedience elevated Blasius to simplex in 1388, but this measure had been omitted from the 1419–23 reunification legislation. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:31.

[63.](#) It was originally paired with a second manuscript auctioned by Christie's in 1997, but the current whereabouts of this partner manuscript are unknown. The listing in Christie's calls the manuscript an ordinal, but it is clear from the lot description that it complemented the manuscript now held by the Universitätsbibliothek in Freiburg. See www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/ordinal-of-the-dominican-nuns-of-engelthal-193827-details.aspx (accessed 5 August 2023). On the basis of an eighteenth-century description, which likely concerns the same codex auctioned by Christie's, Schramke has discussed various theories about the relationship between the two manuscripts and the reason why two were produced, but until and unless the second manuscript becomes available for scholarly study, these speculations must remain just that. Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 356–74; Martini, *Historisch-geographische Beschreibung*, 107–14.

[64.](#) Freiburg, UB, Hs. 1500,15, f. 3r. Schramke, following Johanna Thali, leaves it open whether the date meant is December 27 or December 31, but the second entry is already the Octave of St. Stephan (January 2), whereas the feast of the Holy Innocents (December 28) is found at the end of the manuscript (f. 83v). The date meant is thus most likely December 31. Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 338.

[65.](#) Altstatt, "The Music and Liturgy of Kloster Preetz," 39.

[66.](#) Altstatt, 16–17. In his introduction to the facsimile, Klaus Gereon Beuckers expresses doubt that a separate ordinal existed. Beuckers, *Das Buch im Chore*, 19–20 n. 69. I have not engaged enough with the contents of the *Buch im Chor* to develop a founded opinion.

[67.](#) See the discussion in the Introduction.

[68.](#) Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qu. 66, 21v.

[69.](#) A list of saints useful for identification is given in Pfeiffer's description. In addition to Ulrich, Afra, and Hilaria, local saints include Magnus (September 6), St. Gall (October 16), Narcissus (October 29), Othmar (November 16), Jodocus (December 13), Erhard (January 8), Erasmus (June 3), and Onufrius (June 10).

[70.](#) Berlin, SPK, mgo. 678, f. 16v.

[71.](#) Berlin, SPK, mgo. 678, ff. 17v–18v.

[72.](#) Berlin, SPK, mgo. 678, ff. 65v–66v.

[73.](#) Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages," 51–54; Engler, *Regelbuch*, 286–88. For an exhaustive discussion of the convent's partial reform, see Osten-Hoschek, *Reform und Liturgie*, 50–53.

[74.](#) Hörmann, "Erinnerungen," 385.

[75.](#) Osten-Hoschek, *Reform und Liturgie*, 57–58, 60–61; Hörmann, "Erinnerungen," 366.

[76.](#) Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 28–31; Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages,"

[47.](#) For an architectural plan of the cloister, see Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 16.

[77.](#) Hörmann, "Erinnerungen," 368–69; Seitz, "Zur Geschichte," 67.

[78.](#) Berlin, SPK, mgo. 678, f. 7v–8v.

[79.](#) Berlin, SPK, mgo. 678, f. 73v.

[80.](#) Berlin, SPK, mgo. 678, ff. 35r–36r.

[81.](#) The Observant directoria from St. Katherine in Nuremberg confirm that they also postponed Benedict until after the Octave of Easter in 1516. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 220v.

[82.](#) Berlin, SPK, mgo. 678, f. 48v.

[83.](#) The *Benedicamus* melodies are found at the opening of the prototype antiphonal. London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 250r.

[84.](#) Berlin, SPK, mgo. 678, f. 3r.

- [85](#). Berlin, SPK, mgo. 678, f. 5rv.
- [86](#). Berlin, SPK, mgo. 678, f. 11v and f. 18v.
- [87](#). Meyer, *Women's History*, 75–76.
- [88](#). Meyer, 79; Osten-Hoschek, *Reform und Liturgie*, 53–54.
- [89](#). Freiburg, UB, Hs. 1500,15, ff. 2r–v.
- [90](#). Voit, *Engelthal*, 52–62; Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 324–28; Steinke, *Paradiesgarten*, 289–92.
- [91](#). Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 337, 339, 346–47.
- [92](#). Freiburg, UB, Hs. 1500,15, ff. 85r–86r. The Engelthal sisters or their informant mistook “Catherine martyr” to mean Catherine of Siena instead of Katherine of Alexandria. The appendix lists truly all liturgical ratifications of this general chapter, including the inchoations and approbations, which technically did not yet have legal force. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:423; 4:3–4, 27. Schramke remarks as curious that the scribe lists these decisions as “die newen ding [the new things],” as they contain information about Vincent Ferrer and Catherine of Siena, both canonized and taken up into the Dominican calendar half a century before the manuscript was commissioned in 1504. Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 347. However, the actual legislation recorded here is all from 1498 (indeed, the 1498 inchoations would not formally pass into law until 1505), making these changes in fact quite new.
- [93](#). In the German-language ordinaria, see, especially, Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 228v–229v. In the Latin-language ordinaria, see Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.q.54, f. 178r–v; Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, f. 214br and 226av; Stuttgart, WLB, HB I 182, f. 193r–196r.
- [94](#). Freiburg, UB, Hs. 1500,15, f. 17v, 18r.
- [95](#). Hirbodan, “Töchter der Stadt oder Fremde?,” 58–59. Success of these efforts seems often only to have been partial. The “Seelbücher” of the Observant convent of St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg and the sacristan’s manual of the Observant St. Katherine in Nuremberg record anniversary obligations for donors and patrons aside from the four commemorative days approved by the order. Neidhardt, *Autonomie im Gehorsam*, 347–48; Doerr, “Klarissen und Dominikanerinnen,” 261–62. For the early development of these anniversaries in the Dominican liturgy, see Smith, *Bible Missals*, 54–58.
- [96](#). *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 558, 565.
- [97](#). “It is possible that here also they tried to escape reform by demonstrating an apparently exemplary memorial practice. [Es ist denkbar, dass man auch hier versuchte, durch die Demonstration einer scheinbar vorbildlich praktizierten Memoria einer Reform zu entgehen.]” Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 374. Schramke provides a thorough analysis of the memorial records in the surviving Engelthal manuscript in comparison with an eighteenth-century record of the now-lost partner manuscript. Schramke, 357–71.
- [98](#). Freiburg, UB, Hs. 1500,15, f. 6r and 7v.
- [99](#). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.905. See the project by Volker Schier and Corine Schleif at geesebook.asu.edu/ (accessed 5 August 2023).
- [100](#). New York, Pierpont Morgan, MS M.905, vol. I, f. 260r–263v and vol. II, f. 220r–223r.
- [101](#). Freiburg, UB, Hs. 1500,15, f. 64r.
- [102](#). Freiburg, UB, Hs. 1500,15, f. 7r, 10r, 51r, 53r, 75v, 76r, 79r, 79v.
- [103](#). Freiburg, UB, Hs. 1500,15, f. 75v.
- [104](#). See Janota, *Orientierung*, 119–24; Hindsley, *Mystics of Engelthal*, 65–82; Thali, *Beten—Schreiben—Lesen*, esp. 39–42 and 211–213. For the sister books in general, see Lewis, *By Women*.
- [105](#). Freiburg, UB, Hs. 1500,15, f. 69v–70r.
- [106](#). For her local veneration in Nuremberg, see Janota, *Orientierung*, 119.
- [107](#). London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 437r.

[108](#). See Haug, “Tropes.”

[109](#). Berlin, SPK, mgo. 678, ff. 11r, 12v, 16v, 22r, 27r, 33r, 35r, 57r, 59v, 64r, 70v.

[110](#). Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 338, 340. The directorium lacks the word “rex” from the trope incipit *Kyrie genitor ingenite* and Schramke suggests it may be a variant of the more common trope.

[111](#). Hascher-Burger and Lähnemann, *Liturgie und Reform*, 62.

[112](#). For my discussion of the Observant directoria with regard to competing networks, see Jones, “Negotiating Liturgical Obligations.”

Chapter 6

1. Augsburg, UB, Cod. III.1.2° 7, f. 136r. I do not know what the German translator or his or her readers imagined by “in the chambers [in den cellen].” It does not accurately translate Dietrich of Apolda’s original text, which states that the spreading smell was so delightful “that it seemed as though what had been opened was not so much a sepulcher as a chamber of perfumes [ut non tam sepulcrum, quam cella sentiretur aromatum patuisse].” *Acta Sanctorum*, August: 1:612.

2. Ehrenschwendtner, *Bildung*, 190–93.

3. Willing, *Bibliothek*, 503–4; Schneider, *Deutsche mittelalterliche Handschriften*, 160–61.

4. For Dietrich of Apolda’s *Life of Dominic* and its German translations, see Renner, “Lateinische Hagiographie,” 211–16; Williams-Krapp, “Kultpflege,” 266–70. For Humbert’s work, see Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, 73–103, 211–80.

5. Similarly, the codices without medieval library signatures containing the Augustinian rule, the sisters’ constitutions, and the Observant ordinances were likely kept and used by the prioress or subprioress. Willing, *Bibliothek*, xvii–xviii; Engler, *Regelbuch*, 181–83. Liturgical books were commonly kept separate from the convent library. See Pérez Vidal, “Libros Miniare Potestis”; Irving, “The Library.”

6. The location of the ordinarium is mentioned offhandedly in a letter concerning table readings. “They do not read the ordinarium at table, except on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, when there is a distinctive change in the liturgy. Otherwise, if a sister wants to read it, she may find the book in the choir at the chantress’s seat lying underneath the form [i.e., the choir stalls] throughout the year. [Och list man nit den notel zů tisch denn am grunen donstag vnd carfritag, so sundri verwandlung des gotzdienst ist. Wil aber suss ain swöster daran lesen, die fint dz buch im cor by der sengerin stůl vnder der form ligen úber iar.]” *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 607–8. It was not uncommon to keep books of this type in the choir. The Preetz *Buch im Chor* is called that because it was chained there. Beuckers, *Das “Buch im Chore,”* 7–8. The *liber ordinarius* of Nivelles was also chained in an accessible location. Hamburger and Schlotheuber, *The Liber ordinarius of Nivelles*, 4–5.

7. Willing, *Bibliothek*, xi–xiii.

8. Mossman, “The Literary Culture,” 158, 171, 209.

9. Scholarship on the sisters’ liturgical practices includes Osten-Hoschek, *Reform und Liturgie*; Weilandt, “Alltag einer Küsterin.” Scholarship on their devotional literature and manuscript production is vast; see, exemplarily, Williams-Krapp, *Die Literatur des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, 1:195–286; Steinke, *Paradiesgarten*; Willing, *Bibliothek*; Willing, *Literatur und Ordensreform*; Williams-Krapp, “Bedeutung”; Hasebrink, “Tischlesung”; Williams-Krapp, “Ordensreform.”

10. This manual is being edited by Lena Vosding as *Das Notel der Küsterin*.

11. Von Kern, “Reformation des Katharinenklosters,” 9.

12. Meyer, *Women’s History*, 179, 207–8; Neidhardt, *Autonomie im Gehorsam*, 59; Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, 104–6, 182; Neumann, *Nové prameny*.

13. Weilandt, “Alltag einer Küsterin,” 165.

14. For the duties of the sacristan, see Meyer, *Das Amptbuch*, 195–205, 390–99; Yardley, *Performing Piety*, 69–71.

15. For example, “When it is duplex in Lent, one sings none, mass, and vespers in two and a quarter hours. [Wen es tutplex ist in der fasten, so singt man non, mes, vnd vesper in ij oren vnd j firteil.]” Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 43v.

16. Von Kern, “Reformation des Katharinenklosters,” 9.

17. Willing, *Bibliothek*, xlii–xlv. Antje Willing assigned 1436 as the *terminus ante quem non*, on the assumption that the book Elisabeth Karlin recommends for the feast of St. Dominic is the exact

same physical volume as the securely identifiable, surviving manuscript with the shelf mark “J. I” that is listed in Kunigunde Niklasin’s later manual. This manuscript contains a scribal colophon recording the date of completion as 1436, leading Willing to conclude that Elisabeth Karlin must have drawn up her table-reading manual after this manuscript was completed. Willing, xlii. Paul Ruf had previously assigned the *terminus ante quem* as 1431 on the basis that several books are listed as being Sister Gertraud Alhartin’s books and Alhartin died in 1431. Ruf, *MBK*, 3,3:639. I find it more likely that Alhartin’s death date is a *terminus post quem* because her personal books would have passed into the convent’s communal possession upon her death, making them more readily available for use at the communal table reading. Willing does not speculate on the reasons for the production of the first table-reading manual sometime between 1436 and 1442, noting merely that the previous assumption that the Schönensteinbach reformers had compiled it immediately after the reform can no longer stand. Willing, *Bibliothek*, xlv. However, I do not agree that the production of the manuscript ten to fifteen years after the reform necessarily means that they did not attempt any systematization of the table readings prior to that point; it simply means that this particular material manifestation of their practices was not created until then.

[18](#). Willing, *Bibliothek*, xix n. 12, lix–lx; Hasebrink, “Tischlesung,” 202–11.

[19](#). Von Kern, “Reformation des Katharinenklosters,” 8.

[20](#). Willing, *Bibliothek*, lxvii.

[21](#). Willing, xlvi. For Kunigunde Niklasin’s intellectual contributions to the community of St. Katherine in Nuremberg, see Poor, *Literary Agency*. For the other ways in which Niklasin expanded Karlin’s table-reading manual and the continuous use of the manual throughout the fifteenth century, see Willing, *Bibliothek*, lix–lxviii.

[22](#). New entries are sparse after librarian Klara Keiperin died in 1498 and was succeeded by Kunigunde Löffelholzin. Löffelholzin’s entries largely record in the catalog section that volumes had been given away. Willing, *Bibliothek*, xxviii–xxix, lxxxii.

[23](#). See Willing, xlv–xlvi.

[24](#). Von Kern, “Reformation des Katharinenklosters,” 19.

[25](#). Willing, *Bibliothek*, xli. In general, there are extremely few indications specifically for evening reading.

[26](#). Barow-Vassilevitch and Heckmann, *Abendländische Handschriften*, 359.

[27](#). Nuremberg, GNM, Hs. 6, f. 14v, f. 16v.

[28](#). Nuremberg, GNM, Hs. 6, f. 83r.

[29](#). Von Kern, “Reformation des Katharinenklosters,” 9; Lee, “Materialien,” 300–301, 315–16.

[30](#). It is not entirely certain when the correspondence began, but the exchange became particularly intense in 1483 and continued into the sixteenth century. Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen*, 207–8 n. 13.

[31](#). Mengis, 34–38; *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 29–30.

[32](#). Antje Willing edited the texts but was unable to recruit a liturgical scholar to examine and introduce this aspect of the letters. *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 8.

[33](#). Meyer, *Das Amptbuch*, 272–82, 456–65.

[34](#). Meyer, 87, 89. See also *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 169.

[35](#). These rubrics have recently been studied and edited by Osten-Hoschek, *Reform und Liturgie*.

[36](#). *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:128–29, 139, 145.

[37](#). *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:156, 163–64, 168.

[38](#). The final confirmation of this legislation merely says that the octave of Corpus Christi should be observed in the same manner as the Easter octave, but the records of the inchoation and approbation make the scheduling repercussions explicit. “First, it is ratified in inchoation that the octave of Corpus Christi should be made solemn just like the octave of Easter, such that if a feast

with the rank of simplex or greater falls within the said octave, it should be transferred after it. [Primo inchoatum, quod octave corporis Christi fiant solempnes sicut octave pasche ita quod, si festum simplex vel maius infra dictas octavas occurrerit, post ipsas transferatur.]” *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:331. For the approbation and confirmation, see *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:334, 355–56. Interestingly, the last Nuremberg directorium and its St. Gallen copy record the inchoation date (1477) for the change, whereas the transcribed letters provide the confirmation date (1481). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i, f. 111r, and Wil, Dominikanerinnenkloster, M 8, f. 120v; *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 532.

[39.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 221v.

[40.](#) *Ordinarium*, 234 (appendix 2 §36). In the Nuremberg sources, this instruction is found in the appendix to the Latin ordinarium (Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, f. 196v) and in Johannes Meyer’s *Book of Duties* (*Das Amptbuch*, 276, 459).

[41.](#) For descriptions of the church with floor plan and photographs, see Jäggi, *Frauenklöster*, 98–101; Osten-Hoschek, *Reform und Liturgie*, 107–8. For overviews of the various locations of women’s enclosed choirs, see Jäggi, “Eastern Choir or Western Gallery?”; Jäggi, *Frauenklöster*, 191–218.

[42.](#) Weilandt, “Alltag einer Küsterin,” 171–72.

[43.](#) “The church or sacristy servant ... handles everything in the church, so that no sister ever goes into the church, not for church decorations or anything. [Der kilchenknecht oder kusterknecht ... verricht alle ding in der kilchen, dz kain swöster niemer mer von der kirchenzierd wegen oder suss niemer in die kilchen kumt.]” *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 633.

[44.](#) The sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg are well-known to art historians as producers of tapestries. Unfortunately, most of the surviving textiles that can be traced to the convent were produced for other Nuremberg churches. Carroll, “Woven Devotions”; Zander-Seidel, “Nürnberger Bildteppiche,” 2006; Zander-Seidel, “Nürnberger Bildteppiche,” 2007.

[45.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 217v–218r,

[46.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 129v–130r

[47.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 218r–222v.

[48.](#) *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 634–35.

[49.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 138v–139r. The entry in the sacristan’s manual for the Translation of Dominic unhelpfully states simply that “one decorates the church and our choir as for a totum duplex feast [so ziert man die kirchen vnd vnsern kor hinnen als einen toten tvplex].” (Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 129v) However, for Dominic’s main feast, it records that “we lay out in our choir the red velvet altar cloth [so leg wir hinen in vnserm kor das rot samaten altertvch avf].” (Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 161v) It is likely that this same altar cloth was also used for the Translation of Dominic.

[50.](#) *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 635.

[51.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 146v.

[52.](#) Weilandt, “Alltag einer Küsterin,” 165–68.

[53.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 129v.

[54.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 223r.

[55.](#) *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 542.

[56.](#) *Ordinarium*, 77 (§304).

[57.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 67r–v.

[58.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 138r.

[59.](#) Gumbel, *Das Mesnerpflichtbuch* (*St. Lorenz*), 27.

[60.](#) Gumbel, 31. The sacristan’s manual from St. Sebald explicitly directs that matins should be celebrated at night on Trinity Sunday and the feast of Mary Magdalene. Gumbel, *Das Mesnerpflichtbuch* (*St. Sebald*), 23, 28–29.

[61.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 137r–v.

[62.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 37r.

- [63.](#) *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 545; Gaab, "Die große Nürnbergische Uhr."
- [64.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 37r–v.
- [65.](#) Bergin, "The Offices for the Two Feasts of Saint Dominic," 66.
- [66.](#) Bergin, 396–97. I have classicized all Latin chant texts.
- [67.](#) Bergin, 408–9. The responsory also refers to the healing miracles that occurred at Dominic's tomb. See Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, 512–20.
- [68.](#) Bergin, "The Offices for the Two Feasts of Saint Dominic," 398–99.
- [69.](#) For the full description of this ritual, see *Ordinarium*, 72–73 (§290).
- [70.](#) Jungmann, *Mass*, 212–13, 347–49; Zagano, "Women Deacons," 591–92, 605.
- [71.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 18v–19r, 23v.
- [72.](#) *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 540.
- [73.](#) *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 540.
- [74.](#) *Ordinarium*, 73 (§291).
- [75.](#) The ordinarium's chapter on totum duplex feasts in general explains: "The responsories at the hours are said with 'alleluia,' except from compline on the Saturday before Septuagesima up until Easter. Versicles, however, are never said with an 'alleluia,' except during Paschal Time. [Responsoria Horarum cum 'alleluia' dicantur, nisi in Completorio Sabbati ante Septuagesimam, et deinceps usque ad Pascha. Versiculi vero nunquam dicantur cum 'alleluia,' nisi in Tempore Paschali.]" *Ordinarium*, 72 (§288).
- [76.](#) *Ordinarium*, 44–45 (§161).
- [77.](#) "Thus, it is evident that all the versicles and responsories should be said and sung with 'alleluia.' Adding that *Benedicamus* at vespers and throughout the octave should be concluded with a double 'alleluia.' [Ita videlicet quod omnes versiculis [sic] et responsoria dicantur et cantentur cum 'alleluia.' Addicientes quod *benedicamus* in vesperis et per totas octavas cum dupplici 'alleluia' finiatur.]" Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, f. 214br.
- [78.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i, f. 111r.
- [79.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 221v.
- [80.](#) *Ordinarium*, 74 (§296). "Everything else is done as on the feast, according to the practice for a simplex feast. [Das ander alles als an dem hochzeit nach der ordnung eins hochzeites das simplex ist.]" Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 63r.
- [81.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 151v.
- [82.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, f. 49v; Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 51v.
- [83.](#) For such criticisms and skepticism with regard specifically to fifteenth-century crusading indulgence campaigns, see Housley, "Indulgences," 298–300.
- [84.](#) "Traditional approaches tend to make indulgences synonymous with money and its corruptions; but many pardons—maybe most—were paid for in prayers alone." Swanson, "Praying for Pardon," 215. For a case that is analogous to the Nuremberg indulgences, see Housley, "Indulgences," 284–85. Glenn Ehrstine has emphasized that monetary donations were not sufficient for indulgences to be effective and "devotional spectatorship" was often required. Ehrstine, "Raymond Peraudi in Zerbst," 330–31, 337.
- [85.](#) Ehrstine, "Raymond Peraudi in Zerbst," 351.
- [86.](#) Nuremberg, GNM, Hs. 6, f. 55v–56r.
- [87.](#) *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 634.
- [88.](#) Nuremberg, GNM Hs. 6, f. 59r. The indulgence commissioner is named at the beginning of the record as "Reymundus auß gotlicher parmherczigkeyt presbyter Cardinal gurgensis legatus jn germania." (Hs. 6, f. 57v) Raymond Peraudi conducted three indulgence campaigns in the Holy Roman Empire, but only the final campaign from 1500 to 1504 occurred after he became cardinal in 1493. There is no date on this indulgence, but it may have been granted in late summer or autumn

1501, when Peraudi attended an imperial diet in Nuremberg. Schneider, *Die kirchliche und politische Wirksamkeit*, 63. It may, however, date to Peraudi's time in Würzburg in 1503, since it is paired with an indulgence granted by Kaspar Grünwald, Auxiliary Bishop of Würzburg (1498–1512). Schneider, 87–88. The later date would correspond with Peraudi's practice of issuing indulgences only from the seats of bishoprics. Ehrstine, "Raymond Peraudi in Zerbst," 325. For Peraudi's German indulgence tours, see also Housley, "Indulgences"; Röpcke, "Geld und Gewissen."

[89](#). For just one contribution from a vast corpus of scholarship, see Bagchi, "Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses*."

[90](#). See Pérez Vidal, "Compline and Its Processions."

[91](#). *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 562.

[92](#). *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 562.

[93](#). Bonniwell, *History*, 162 n. 24.

[94](#). Pérez Vidal, "Compline and Its Processions," 262, 269–71.

[95](#). Pérez Vidal, 260 n. 47.

[96](#). At St. Katherine in Nuremberg, the antiphon *Ave regina* was used in this way on Saturdays. *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 562.

[97](#). *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 562.

[98](#). "Item, both on the Eve and Day of St. Dominic's Translation, at compline after the *Salve*, one sings *O lumen* and not *Regina caeli*. [Item man singt an Sant dominicus translacio obent vnd tag nach Complet nach dem Salve *O lumen* vnd nit *regina celi*.]" Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i, f. 177r; see also Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 185r.

[99](#). *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 556.

[100](#). *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 562.

[101](#). *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 556.

[102](#). Ehrstine, "Raymond Peraudi in Zerbst," 354.

[103](#). "Liber const. sor.," 339 (c. 1 & 2).

[104](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 146v.

[105](#). *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 553.

[106](#). The sample duty roster transcribed in the letters to St. Gallen frequently reads "who does the office [que officium]" for the final responsory of any given set. *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 546–53.

[107](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 185r–v. The directorium communicates the same information as the ordinarium but much more simply. The ordinarium lists all of the chants by their incipits without indicating their source: "But if one celebrates the feast after Trinity, one reads vespers as indicated above, except that one does not sing 'alleluia' after the antiphon or the responsory. At matins, the invitatory, hymn, the antiphons in the nocturns, and the psalms are read as for his other feast. The first responsory is *Mundum*, the second responsory *Datum*, the third *Fulget*, *Omnia*, *Quare*, *Gloria*, *Quare*. The fourth is *Paupertatis*, the fifth *Panis*, the sixth *Virgo*, verse: *Regna, fragrat, Gloria, Cantant*. The seventh is *Felix*, the eighth *Ascendenti*, the ninth *In odoris*, verse: *Sidus, ubi, Gloria, Sana*. [Begot man aber dz hochzeit nach der dryualtikeit so spricht man zu uesper als dauor geschriben ist on allain dz man 'alleluia' nit singt nach dem antiphon vnd nach dem Responsorio. Zu metten Jnuitatorium, ymnus, antiphon uber der nocturn, psalmen spricht man als an der andern hochzeit. Das erst R Mundum, das ander R Datum, das iij R Fulget, omnia, Quare, Gloria, Quare. dz iiiij R paupertatis, das v R panis, das vj R virgo, v. Regna, fragrat, Gloria, Cantant. Dz vij R felix, das viij R Ascendenti, das ix R Jn odoris, v. Sydus, vbi, Gloria, Sana.]" Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 80r.

[108](#). Gerard of Frachet, *Vitae fratrum*, 207. I thank Fr. Simon Tugwell for bringing this passage to my attention.

[109.](#) “In the long days, they ring for prime at the stroke of six. [Die prim lútent sy in den langen tagen so es 6 schlecht.]” *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 540. “Item, in summer, they ring prime usually when it is about six or seven, depending on whether the day is longer or shorter. [Item sy lútend im sumer prim gewonlich so es ist vmb 6 oder siben, darnach der tag ist lenger oder kúrtzer.]” *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 611.

[110.](#) The instructions in the sacristan’s manual that have previously been understood to indicate that the sisters of St. Katherine in Nuremberg celebrated the little hours in the dormitory in fact only apply to times of interdict (“whenever it happens that singing is stricken [wenn es sich also schiket, das man singen verschleht]”). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 238v. When the city was under interdict, the sisters needed to ensure that townsfolk could not hear their liturgy. For the phrase “to strike singing [singen verschlagen]” as interdict, see “VERSCHLAGUNG, f.”

[111.](#) *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 602.

[112.](#) According to the Nuremberg German translation of the women’s constitutions, “From Easter up until the feast of the Elevation of the Cross (September 14), the sisters should be fed twice a day: except for the rogation days and all Fridays ... and when none has been said, they eat. [Von ostern vncz zu dem hochzeit der erhöhung des heiligen kreüczes sullen die swestere teglich czwient gespeÿset werd: außgenumen die tage der kreuczwochen vnd alle freytage ... vnd wenne die Nona gesprochen ist, eßen.]” Nuremberg, GNM, Hs. 7069, f. 26r. The Latin constitutions read: “A pascha usque ad festum exaltacionis sancte crucis, sorores bis reficiantur, exceptis diebus rogationum et sextis feriis ... et nona dicta comedant.” “Liber const. sor.,” 340 (c. 4).

[113.](#) *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 602. On fasting days, Dominican communities did receive some sustenance later in the day in a practice called collation. At St. Katherine in Nuremberg, the collation consisted of some fruit, a bit of bread or maybe honey cake (Lebkuchen), and water mixed with wine. *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 614, 616.

[114.](#) *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 541.

[115.](#) *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 541. The letters also continue to explain that if chapter is held during the summer on a day other than Friday (i.e., a non-fasting day), chapter is held before prime, followed by terce, mass, sext, and then the first meal at around nine o’clock in the morning.

[116.](#) “They usually hold chapter on Friday, and on Friday they hold chapter after prime, since on Friday there is a pause after prime. And when the chapter is over, if it is time, the sacristan rings two signals with the choir bell for terce. [Sy halt gewonlich capitel vff den fritag, so halt sy am fritag nach der prim capitel, won an dem fritag haltend sy paus nach der prim. Vnd so dz capitel end haut, ob es zit ist, so lút die kustrin 2 zaichen mit der corgloggen zú der tertz.]” *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 595.

[117.](#) In 1353, 1354, 1355, 1426, and 1439, the acts of the general chapter repeat ordinances that each community hold the chapter of faults once a week. In 1456, they stipulate only once a month and in 1470, every two weeks. *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:348, 358, 365; 3:186, 243, 259, 323.

[118.](#) von Kern, “Reformation des Katharinenklosters,” 20.

[119.](#) “Every week on Friday, unless a major feast falls on that day such as a totum duplex or a communion, the prioress holds a chapter meeting at night. [Alle wochen am fritag, ob anders nit ain grosz hochzit darvf kumt als totum duplex oder ain comunion, so halt die priorin capitel am abend.]” *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 593. See also “The prioress holds a chapter meeting once or twice every week on Friday or Saturday. [Dye priorin halt all wochen ainmal oder zwúrend capitel am fritag oder samstag.]” *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 595.

[120.](#) *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 617.

[121.](#) “And otherwise when there is an obligatory fast day outside of the winter fast, they always hold a pause after prime. [Vnd so suss ain panner vastag ist on die regelvasten, so haltend sy paus alweg nach prim.]” Friday is a required fast day here outside of the winter fasting time, so they have

a break after prime. This passage in the letters also describes some of the things the sisters might do during this free time. *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 540.

[122.](#) "If one holds an office, she may deal with some part of her responsibilities. [Haut aini ain ampt, so mag sy etwas an dem ampt vsrichten.]" *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 540.

[123.](#) *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 633.

[124.](#) *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 600.

[125.](#) "When the sacristan thinks there is time to finish singing none, mass, and vespers before it is time for the meal, she rings two signals for none. And at the first psalm, mass is rung, and after none mass is sung, and when *Recordare* is being sung, the sacristan rings for as long as the *Recordare* lasts with the collect, then they sing vespers. After vespers, if it is eleven, one rings for the meal. [Wenn denn die kustrin zit dunckt, dz man non dz ampt vnd vesper mug vssingen bis vf die stund des essenszit, so lút sy aber 2 zaichen zů non. Vnd zů dem ersten psalm lut man mess, vnd nach non singt man mess, vnd so man *Recordare* singt, lút die kustrin als lang dz *Recordare* weret mit der oratio, so singend sy denn vesper. Vnd nach der vesper ist es 11, so lút man zů tisch.]" *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 541.

[126.](#) The letters state that the sacristan rang the bell during the first psalm of terce, if prime and terce were sung back to back or if the Little Office of the Virgin was sung. On days when there was a pause after prime and the Little Office was omitted, the bell for mass was rung during the second psalm. *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 540–41. This latter situation fits our example: There was a pause after prime because it was Friday, and the Little Office of the Virgin was omitted because it was a totum duplex feast. As a note, the psalmody at terce was in fact drawn entirely from Psalm 118, but because this psalm was impossibly long, it was split into manageable chunks and distributed over the little hours. Each chunk was treated structurally as a separate psalm.

[127.](#) "At mass, one sings his gradual and *Alleluia* as otherwise in the year. [Zu meß singt man sein gradal vnd alleluia als sust im jar.]" Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 185v.

[128.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 107r.

[129.](#) For descriptions of the genre of sequences, see Fassler, "Women and Their Sequences," 625–30; Kruckenber, "Sequence"; Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*, 1:211–22; Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 72–76.

[130.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 4v.

[131.](#) *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 556–57.

[132.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 4r. See also for *Sancti spiritus*: "On Pentecost, one handles the sequence *Sancti Spiritus* in this way, because of the melody: the two who should sing it first sing + (upper margin: + the two words *Sancti spiritus* and the community sings the rest of the same verse) ~~the first verse and then the community also sings the first verse~~ and then the two the second verse and the community the third and so on. [An dem pfingst tag so tut man mit der sequencien *sancti spiritus* also von der weis wegen: die zwo die sie vor sond singen die singent + (upper margin: + die czwei wort *sancti spiritus* vnd der Couent singt den selbigen vers vol auß) ~~den ersten vers vnd denne so singet der covent auch den ersten vers~~ vnd denn die zwo den andren vers vnd der covent den tritten vnd also anhin aus.]" Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 112v.

[133.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 117r, 120v, 122r, 125r; Cod. Cent. VI, 69, f. 271r; *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 548–49.

[134.](#) *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 548. I have lightly adapted the transcription, since Willing interpreted "vor" as a preposition rather than the separable prefix that it is; she accordingly supplied a different letter for the *Nasalstrich* abbreviation.

[135.](#) *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 552.

[136.](#) O'Connor, "Liturgical Use of the Organ"; More, "Practice of Alternatim."

[137](#). As explained above, instructions for this sequence were required because the melody of the first verse was standalone and the first melodic pair was verses two and three. “Item, they sing the sequence *Sancti Spiritus adsit* this way: The two sisters, who sing first, begin and sing the first two words *Sancti Spiritus*, and the community sings *adsit nobis gratia*. Then the two sisters sing *Quae corda nostra sibi faciat habitaculum* and the community the verse after, and in this way up to the end. But when the organ is played for them, the organist plays the first verse *Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia* entirely, then the choir begins it again and sings the whole thing. Then he plays *Quae corda* and then alternating to the end, as any other sequence. [Item die sequens *Sancti spiritus assit* singend sy also: Die zwo swöstren, die sy for singend, fachend an vnd singend die zwai wort *Sancti spiritus*, so singt der cor *assit nobis gratia*. Denn singend die 2 swöstren *Que corda nostra sibi faciat habitaculum* vnd der cor den vers darnach, vnd also fürbas bis zû dem end vs. Item so man in aber orgelt, so schlecht der orgelist den ersten vers *Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia* gantz vs, so fachet in denn der cor wider an vnd singt in och gantz vs. Denn schlecht er *Que corda* vnd also gantz wandelich vs als ain ander sequens.]” *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 530–31.

[138](#). Melville, “Rechtsordnung,” 592–93.

[139](#). Heymann, “The Crusades Against the Hussites,” 601.

[140](#). *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:168. *Recordare virgo* is the offertory antiphon for the Saturday Commemorative Mass for the Blessed Virgin throughout most of the year (London BL, Add. 23935, f. 433r); *Sub tuum praesidium* is the antiphon over the canticle *Nunc dimittis* at compline for the Saturday Office of the Blessed Virgin and for the feast of the Assumption (London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 369r); *Ora pro nobis, sancta dei genitrix* is a common versicle for the Blessed Virgin; *Protege* is the collect used at sext in the Little Office of the Virgin as well as in the memoria at vespers (London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 140v); finally, *Ecclesiae tuae* is the votive collect for “tribulations of the church” (London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 521v).

[141](#). This portion of the mass ritual is described in *Ordinarium*, 243 (appendix 2 §91–92). According to Andrew Hughes, it was not uncommon to insert “accretions” at this position in the mass. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 91.

[142](#). It is not entirely clear how long any given ordinance was considered valid. See Melville, “Rechtsordnung,” 598–601. The ordinances imposed on reformed communities (such as those imposed on St. Katherine in Nuremberg by Master General Bartholomew Texier) were certainly considered permanent, but these were structurally and formally different from the admonitions of the yearly general chapter.

[143](#). Nuremberg, GNM, Hs. 6, 34r–v.

[144](#). Nuremberg, GNM, Hs. 6, f. 35r–v. Late medieval indulgences differentiated between various classes of sins that different kinds of indulgences affected in different ways. One widespread German-language devotional treatise explains: “If a person dies before completing his enjoined penance, then the indulgence comes to his help and stands in for the enjoined penance. [Wär aber, das der mensch stürbe, ee er sein gesatzte pueß verpracht, so chäm ym der ablas zu hilff und stünd für die gesatzten pueße.]” Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses am Ausgange des Mittelalters*, 148. St. Katherine in Nuremberg owned copies of this treatise in two manuscripts entered in their library catalog as B. VI (Cod. Cent. IV, 20, f. 92r–127v) and M. VII (Cod. Cent. VI, 43d, f. 114r–208v). Willing, *Bibliothek*, 91–95, 635–39. See also Shaffern, “The Medieval Theology of Indulgences”; Hamm, *Abläss und Reformation*.

[145](#). Imber, *The Crusade of Varna*, 30–31.

[146](#). For a concise, recent overview of this period, see Mixson, *The Crusade of 1456*, 1–37.

[147](#). *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 556.

[148](#). Nuremberg, GNM, Hs. 6, f. 50v–53v.

[149](#). Nuremberg, GNM, Hs. 6, f. 56v–57v.

[150](#). Nuremberg, GNM, Hs. 6, f. 59r.

[151](#). *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 556. I have lightly altered the transcription from Willing's edition because she interpreted "preces" as a genre term indicating a new chant, but it is actually part of the text of *Ecclesiae tuae*. This passage in the letters also addresses musical performance: "They sing the *Recordare* every day after mass, and they do not sing it with the upper voice, they sing it with an even middle voice, all even.... They kneel for the whole thing.... They also do not sing the *Recordare* differently than one sings it in the mass, except that they sing fewer notes at the end than in the mass. [Das *Recordare* singend sy alltag nach der mess, vnd singend och nit mit der obren stim, sy singend mit ainer glichen mitlen stim, all glichmütig.... Dz knúwet man alles gantz vs.... Sy singend och dz *Recordare* nit anders denn wie man dz in der mesz singt, denn dz sy minder noten singend an dem end denn in der mesz.]" *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 555–56. *Recordare* has a melisma toward the end of the chant and this mention of "fewer notes" probably indicates that they cut the melisma from the daily practice.

[152](#). Osten-Hoschek, *Reform und Liturgie*, 161, 165, 172, 208, 212. In addition to this use in the ceremonies for death and burial, the text was used as the responsory at sext on Septuagesima Sunday and as a versicle during the benediction of the ashes on Ash Wednesday (London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 272r, f. 487r). In each of these two instances, it forms part of the ritual transition into periods of penance.

[153](#). Neidhardt, *Autonomie im Gehorsam*, 157–59, 165–70.

[154](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, f. 214br.

Conclusion

[1](#). *Acta Capitulorum*, 4:306.

[2](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i, f. 111v–112r. It is not possible to know whether the grammatical error in the abbreviation is the sister's mistake or is derived from her source.

[3](#). Juan of Palencia's 1576 ordinarium edition conforms in most respects to the information in this Nuremberg directorium entry, even allowing that conflicting three-lesson feasts could be rescheduled to a free day within the next two weeks. The only difference is the *Magnificat* antiphon, which he lists as *Memoriam*. Juan of Palencia, *Ordinarium Sacrarum Caeremoniarum*, 1:50r.

[4](#). Gieraths, *Die Dominikaner in Worms*, 59. For his term as prior, see von Loe, *Teutonia*, 16.

[5](#). The protocols of the Imperial Diet are edited in Aulinger, *Der Reichstag zu Regensburg 1546*.

[6](#). For the Nuremberg friary's slow dissolution (in both senses of the word), see Bock, "Nürnberger Predigerkloster," 156–66. Klaus-Bernward Springer provides a broader contextualization of the German Dominican friaries during the Protestant Reformation, but the Nuremberg friary is not a focus. Springer, *Die deutschen Dominikaner*.

[7](#). Steinke, *Paradiesgarten*, 248–49.

[8](#). Steinke, 272. See Jungkuntz, *Die Brandenburg-Nürnbergische Kirchenordnung*.

[9](#). Siemer, *Sankt Magdalena in Augsburg*, 101; Roper, *Holy Household*, 241. The friary in Augsburg was restored to the Dominican order in 1548, at which point the friars resumed the spiritual and sacramental care for the sisters. Siemer, *Sankt Magdalena in Augsburg*, 106; Roper, *Holy Household*, 243.

[10](#). Steinke, *Paradiesgarten*, 272.

[11](#). Steinke, 276–77. Some communities in Protestant territories developed mixed confessional congregations, in which competition between traditional Catholic liturgies and new Protestant rites could be extremely contentious. The northern German Dominican convent of Paradies near Soest provides an example. See Plummer, *Stripping the Veil*, 263–74; Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*, 1:97–98.

- [12.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i, f. 20v.
- [13.](#) Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qu. 66, f. 20r. See Jones, “Liturgical Manuals,” 310–11.
- [14.](#) Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, xiii–xiv; Kottmann, “Wissensspeicher.” The last choir sister of St. Katherine in Nuremberg, Kordula Knörring, died in 1596; the last sister in Weiler near Esslingen, Barbara Morlock, died in 1592. Steinke, *Paradiesgarten*, 285; Uhrle, *Dominikanerinnenkloster Weiler*, 297.
- [15.](#) For broad overviews, see Garrett, “Expropriation of Monastic Libraries”; Gamper, “Klosteraufhebungen”; Beales, *Prosperity and Plunder*, 282–90; Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, 2:623–27.
- [16.](#) Seitz, “Zur Geschichte,” 70.
- [17.](#) Bock, “Inventar- und Ausstattungsbestand,” 30–32.
- [18.](#) Mai, “Die mittelalterliche Klosterbibliothek,” 43.
- [19.](#) Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen*, 41–43. Her description of the manuscript is at Mengis, 287–89.
- [20.](#) Plummer, *Stripping the Veil*, 152–56.
- [21.](#) “As the billeting of the Benedictine nuns of St. Nicholas’s in the Dominican convent of St. Katherine’s [in Augsburg] showed, the policy of civic religious uniformity amounted to a direct assault on the distinctiveness of orders and the monastic ideal itself.” Roper, *Holy Household*, 215. See also Plummer, *Stripping the Veil*, 157.
- [22.](#) O’Carroll, “The Cult and Liturgy of St. Dominic,” 568.
- [23.](#) Smith, “Dominican Chant and Dominican Identity,” 963.
- [24.](#) See, for example, Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Feeling*; Baum, *Reformation of the Senses*.
- [25.](#) Jones, *Ruling the Spirit*.
- [26.](#) For the way that obedience supported assurance of salvation, see Steinke, *Paradiesgarten*, 136–40.
- [27.](#) Mahmood, *Politics of Piety*, 15. See also Jones, “Liturgy and the Performance of the Mystical Self.”
- [28.](#) Scholars have repeatedly demonstrated that the situation of women in Protestant cities often worsened, and the lives of former nuns could be extremely difficult. See Plummer, *Stripping the Veil*, 121–30; Steinke, *Paradiesgarten*, 267–69; Roper, *Holy Household*.
- [29.](#) Altstadt, “The Music and Liturgy of Kloster Preetz”; Stenzig, *Die Chronik des Klosters Lüne*; Hascher-Burger and Lähmann, *Liturgie und Reform*.
- [30.](#) Osten-Hoschek, *Reform und Liturgie*.
- [31.](#) Gümbel, *Das Mesnerpflichtbuch (St. Lorenz)* and *Das Mesnerpflichtbuch (St. Sebald)*. Other German translations include the Franciscan ordinal (Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 485–86), the Bursfelde reform ordinal (Albert, *Caeremoniae Bursfeldensis*, 53–56), and the Augustinian Klosterneuburg customary (dissertation in progress by Cornelia Peka at the University of Vienna).
- [32.](#) See de Loos, “Een ordinarius voor Premonstratenzerinnen”; Catalunya, “The Customary of the Royal Convent”; Catalunya, “A Female-Voice Ceremonial”; Fassler, “Soundings,” 180–89; Yardley, “Liturgy as Creative Engagement”; Bugyis, *Pastoring Nuns*. I thank Mercedes Pérez Vidal for drawing my attention to the Portuguese ordinal Lorvão, *Ordem de Cister, Mosteiro de Lorvão*, códice 47.

Appendix 3

- [1.](#) Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, 509–12 and 528–30. I owe Fr. Simon Tugwell an enormous debt of gratitude for having checked a draft of this appendix for me. He provided invaluable advice and caught many points I had missed. All errors remain my own.

2. For a description of the common performance practice, see Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 99. The special instructions for the invitatory antiphon on Passion Sunday demonstrate that the Dominicans followed this practice. On Passion Sunday, the invitatory antiphon (“Hodie si vocem domini audieritis / Nolite obdurare corda vestra”) is drawn from verse 4 of the psalm performance. (The text is actually Psalm 94:8 because the eleven Bible verses of the psalm were grouped into five performance verses.) The soloists are instructed not to repeat what the choir has just sung and instead to start singing at “Sicut in exacerbatione” (*Ordinarium*, 37 (§146)). The fact that the soloists are instructed to start singing at “Sicut” and not at “Nolite” shows that the choir sang the entire antiphon after verses 1, 3, and 5. See also the cues for the invitatory antiphon in the Little Office of the Virgin at the end of the psalter (London, BL, Add. 23935, f. 140r).

3. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 78.

4. This text is so formulaic that most manuscripts simply include the abbreviation *Dne ex*. The only digitized Nuremberg manuscript in which I have found it copied out in its entirety is in Boston at Northeastern University, “Dragon Prayerbook,” f. 163r (image 0341), dragonprayerbook.northeastern.edu/mirador/ (accessed 5 August 2023).

5. Dominic’s name was added to the *Confiteor* in 1285. *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:218, 222, 227.

6. The earliest ordinarium offers the antiphon *Ave regina* as an optional alternative to *Salve regina*. Nuremberg manuscripts contain the following texts. Antiphon: *Ave regina celorum, etc.* / Versicle: *Ora pro nobis sancta maria genitrix* / Response: *Ut digni, etc.* / Collect: *Protege domine famulos tuos subsidiis pacis et beate marie semper virginis patrociniiis confidentes a cunctis hostibus redde securos.* / Per, etc. (St. Peter perg. 53a, f. 122v).

Appendix 4

1. Carmassi, *Katalog SUB Göttingen; Die Handschriften in Göttingen*, 2:445–46; Creytens, “L’ordinaire,” 112.

2. Göttingen, SUB, 8^o Cod. Ms. Theol. 236, f. 71v.

3. For a lively account of this event, see Kurpiewski, “Power in Pursuit of Religion.”

4. Göttingen, SUB, 8^o Cod. Ms. Theol. 236, f. 128r, 127v, 130r.

5. Göttingen, SUB, 8^o Cod. Ms. Theol. 236, f. 130r.

6. Göttingen, SUB, 8^o Cod. Ms. Theol. 236, f. 130v–131v.

7. Göttingen, SUB, 8^o Cod. Ms. Theol. 236, f. 129v–130v.

8. Göttingen, SUB, 8^o Cod. Ms. Theol. 236, f. 124r–v.

9. *Catalogue général*, 56:121–22; Blondel, Hamburger, and Leroy, *Les dominicaines d’Unterlinden*, 2:74.

10. Blondel, Hamburger, and Leroy, 2:74.

11. Ordered by year of confirmation, these feasts include Anthony of Padua (1262, f. 88r), Edward (1265, f. 97v), Martha (1276, f. 91v), Wenceslas (1298, f. 97r), Louis IX (1301, f. 94v), Alexius (1307, f. 91r), Corpus Christi (1323, f. 53v), and Thomas Aquinas (1326, f. 83r).

12. Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 411, f. 53v. *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:156, 163, 168.

13. *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:370, 375, 382.

14. *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:195, 206, 216, 223, 229, 236, 346, 356, 365.

15. For the Unterlinden sister book, see Van Engen, “Communal Life,” 111–12; Lewis, *By Women*, 13–15.

16. Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 411, f. 43r, f. 115r.

17. Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 411, ff. 17v–18v.

18. Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 411, f. 42r, f. 113r.

19. Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 411, ff. 109v–110v.

[20.](#) Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 411, f. 65v, f. 66v, f. 68r.

[21.](#) “Tult, II.”

[22.](#) “One manuscript that very probably originated in the Oetenbach scriptorium is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 168, a liturgical manual called an *ordinarium of the divine office* for Dominican sisters from the second half of the fourteenth century. A later entry, written in an East Swabian hand in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, reveals that a priest Albrecht, chaplain of the Dominican convent of Stetten near Hechingen, gave the codex to another convent of the order (Medingen near Dillingen?). There are two possibilities: Either Oetenbach wrote the manuscript for their own use and later gave it away, or they initially produced it on commission for elsewhere. [Sehr wahrscheinlich im Oetenbacher Skriptorium entstanden ist dagegen Cgm 168 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, ein *ordinarium von dem götlichen ampte* genanntes Ritualbuch für Dominikanerinnen aus der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Aus einem späteren, von ostschwäbischer Hand geschriebenen Eintrag des 14. oder 15. Jahrhunderts geht hervor, dass *pfaffe albrecht*, Kaplan des Dominikanerinnenklosters Stetten bei Hechingen, den Codex an einen anderen Frauenkonvent des Ordens (Medingen bei Dillingen?) geschenkt hat. Damit sind zwei Möglichkeiten gegeben: Entweder hat Oetenbach die Handschrift zuerst für den eigenen Gebrauch geschrieben und zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt abgegeben oder aber gleich in fremdem Auftrag hergestellt.] Schneider-Lastin, “Literaturproduktion,” 195.

[23.](#) Roth, *Deutsche Predigten des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts*, xxvi–xxviii.

[24.](#) Petzet, *Die deutschen Pergamenthandschriften*, 305–6.

[25.](#) Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 75v.

[26.](#) Petzet, *Die deutschen Pergamenthandschriften*, 306.

[27.](#) For Verena and Charlemagne as indicating Zurich provenance, see Kessler, *Gotische Buchkultur*, 95–96, 134; Holladay, “Competition for Saints.”

[28.](#) Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 75v.

[29.](#) Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 75r.

[30.](#) Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 24v–25r.

[31.](#) The instructions read: “One should know that from *Deus omnium* up until Advent and from the Octave of Epiphany up until Septuagesima, once a week on some free day, the community should celebrate St. Dominic with three lessons as one does for an octave, but the mass is sung semiduplex. And this should never be omitted, unless some circumstance should arise in which one would have to omit the feast of another saint with the rank of three lessons. [Wan sol wissen das man von *deus omnium* vnz an den aduent vnd von der octaue epyphanie vnz ze der septuagesime all wochen einest an etlichem lere tage von Sant dominicus in dem conuente sol lesen dri lectien in der wise als in einer octaue, aber messe singet man von semiduplex. Vnd dis sol man niemer ab gelassen, es enirre denne etwas dar vmbe man ovch ein fest eins heiligen der dri lectien hat mûs abe lassen.]” Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 75r.

[32.](#) According to the final appearance: “We ordain that mass for the Blessed Virgin and for St. Dominic should be solemnly celebrated in each community every week on some free day, and for St. Peter Martyr at least once every two weeks. [Ordinamus, quod missa de beata virgine et de beato Dominico in quolibet conventu, in aliqua vacante feria singulis septimanis, ac de beato Petro martyre ad minus semel in quindena sollempniter celebretur.]” *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:70, 86, 100, 104, 109, 135, 142, 149, 154.

[33.](#) Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 26r and 68r.

[34.](#) Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 30v, 31r, 69r, and 69v.

[35.](#) Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 35r, 69r, and 70v.

[36.](#) Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 75v.

[37.](#) Lang, *Katalog Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln*, 2:315–16.

- [38.](#) Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 744/986, p. 310.
- [39.](#) Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 744/986, p. 315.
- [40.](#) Wehrli-Johns, *Geschichte*, 252.
- [41.](#) He is not included among the list of Zurich lectors in Wehrli-Johns, “Zürich,” 499–501.
- [42.](#) Wehrli-Johns, *Geschichte*, 103.
- [43.](#) Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 744/986, p. 95–96, 254.
- [44.](#) Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 744/986, p. 280.
- [45.](#) See Schneider’s list of separate hands at Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 392.
- [46.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 86r and 134r, f. 88v and 136r, f. 86r.
- [47.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 50v–51r. Compare with the St. Verena witness, which still says to observe the octave until the evening before Saturday. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 744/986, p. 94.
- [48.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 83r and 133v, 93r and 137v.
- [49.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 78r and 132v, 80v and 133r, 90r and 137r.
- [50.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 68v, 74r, 79v, 80v, 89v, 90r. The mass rubrics are on ff. 143r–v.
- [51.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 132r, 132v, 134r.
- [52.](#) *Acta Capitulum*, 3:292.
- [53.](#) “One should read the entire daily Little Office of the Virgin outside of the choir, except for compline. [Man sol vnser frowen teglich ampt alles sprechen vsßwendig dem kor on Complet.]” Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 744/986, p. 183. And: “Wan sol únser frouwen teglich ampt alles sprechen vswendig dem kore, wan echt ze complete.” Munich, BSB, cgm 168, f. 40v.
- [54.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 99r.
- [55.](#) *Acta Capitulum*, 3:149, 160, 165–66, 181. The Dominican ordinarium originally permitted the daily Little Office of the Virgin to be said outside the choir. Over the centuries, the general chapter had changed where the office was to be said multiple times.
- [56.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 93v.
- [57.](#) *Acta Capitulum*, 3:92, 104, 160.
- [58.](#) Ruf, *MBK*, 3,3:613.
- [59.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 131r.
- [60.](#) In the extant Nuremberg copy of the Zurich translation, these rubrics are found at Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 139v.
- [61.](#) Gattermann, *Handschriftencensus Rheinland*, 1:220.
- [62.](#) Engler, *Regelbuch*, 27. Wrocław, University Library, Cod. IV F 194a, fol. 131ra.
- [63.](#) Wrocław, University Library, Cod. IV F 194a, f. 81r–v.
- [64.](#) The scribal colophon concluding the *vita* of St. Eufraxia (bound together with the Bern chronicle) gives the completion date as 1460. A modern marginal notation renders the Roman numerals as 1455, but this misinterprets lx as lv. Wrocław, University Library, Cod. IV F 194a, f. 178r.
- [65.](#) Meyer, *Das Amptbuch*, 124. According to Ruf, the manuscript was completed by March 1455, but he does not indicate his source for this statement. Ruf, *MBK*, 3,3:599. The convent library catalog describes the volume with the shelf mark H. XIII as “Item, a new book; in it are the officers, the duties of each, and some letters and other good material from the constitutions, as well as the rules of the lay sisters and lay brothers and of the Third Order, a religious form of life. It was copied from Bern by the sisters. [Item ein news puch; daran stet die ampt swester, was yder zugehor, und etlich epistel und etlich gut matery auß der constitucion und der conversen swester und pruder regel

und von sant Dominicus rew, eins geistlichen lebens form. Ist von penn abgeschrieben worden von den swestern.]” Ruf, 3,3:614.

66. “It is conspicuous, that the texts copied in Nuremberg are no longer transmitted in Bern, presumably they never returned in the first place. Where the exemplars remained is unknown. [Auffällig ist, dass die in Nürnberg kopierten Texte nicht mehr in Bern überliefert sind, vermutlich sind sie erst gar nicht mehr zurückgekommen. Wo die Vorlagen geblieben sind, ist nicht bekannt.]” Engler, *Regelbuch*, 36.

67. She identified Falder-Pistoris’s hand in Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43q. Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 133, 393.

68. Schneider, 393; Willing, *Bibliothek*, 488–89.

69. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, ff. 1v, 145v.

70. Ruf, *MBK*, 3,3:613. For Niklasin’s library catalogs, see Willing, *Bibliothek*, xix–xx; Poor, *Literary Agency*.

71. “Here ends the *notula* of the order of sisters of the Friars Preachers. [Explicit notula ordinis sororum fratrum predicatorum.]” Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 130v.

72. Meyer, *Women’s History*, 174. See also Neidhardt, “Die Beziehungen.”

73. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 15r–16r; Munich, BSB, cgm 62, f. 15v–16v.

74. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 75r–v; Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 17, 98r–v.

75. *Acta Capitulorum*, 1:27; Bonniwell, *History*, 34.

76. Bonniwell, 35, 109–110. See also Giraud, “Dominican Mass Books,” 312–16.

77. *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:189, 195, 207; 3:110, 113, 135. Elevating a feast to the rank of totum duplex entailed adding a sequence to the celebration of mass. This ordinarium translation (both the Nuremberg and the Munich manuscripts) provides the incipit *Virginalis turma* for the sequence at mass for the Eleven Thousand Virgins (Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 126v; cgm 62, f. 112v) as does the Nuremberg copy of the Zurich translation (Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 137r). In contrast, the later Latin Nuremberg ordinarium prescribes the sequence *In supernis choris* [*sic*] (Cod. Cent. VII, 17, f. 188v). A gradual produced in 1481 in Altenhohenau (reformed by St. Katherine in Nuremberg) contains the music for *In supernis concors choris* for the Eleven Thousand Virgins, corroborating the Latin ordinarium. Unfortunately, the choir books from St. Katherine in Nuremberg have been mutilated, so it is not possible to know which of the two sequences was in their graduals. Munich, *Bibliothek des Metropolitankapitels*, Chorbuch Nr. 3, f. 189r–193v.

78. The acts from 1344 and 1350 record separate inchoations to elevate Elisabeth’s rank, but neither proceeded to approbation. *Acta Capitulorum*, 2:292, 332.

79. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:31, 93, 377; Izbicki, “The Immaculate Conception.”

80. *Acta Capitulorum*, 4:95, 126, 158.

81. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 56v, 59v–60r, 62v, 64v, 66r, 67v.

82. Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 122r, 123v, 124r.

83. Nuremberg, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 42r and 116r, f. 81r–v and 128r–v.

84. Nuremberg, Cod. Cent. VII, 77, f. 128v. Although the Tuesday Office for Dominic appears in both the Munich and the Nuremberg manuscript witnesses of this ordinarium translation, the Tuesday mass is only included in the Nuremberg manuscript. The text of the Munich copy cuts off after the Commons for One Virgin and is therefore also missing the Saturday masses for the Blessed Virgin.

85. Petzet, *Die deutschen Pergamenthandschriften*, 102–3.

86. An inchoation for the feast of the Transfiguration appears in the acts of the 1459 general chapter; no mention is made in the surviving 1462 acts, but an approbation is recorded for 1465. This does not conform to legal procedure, since, if a session had been skipped, a new inchoation would have to start the process over again. Given the imprecision of the legislative vocabulary in the

fifteenth-century acts, it is likely that the omission from the 1462 protocols is an oversight and the feast of the Transfiguration was confirmed, not approved, in 1465. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:269, 292.

[87](#). Heinzer and Stamm, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter*, 2:75–77.

[88](#). Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter perg. 31, f. 61r and 104v. Notwithstanding the emphasis on uniformity, the Dominican order permitted communities to customize their liturgy by celebrating the Translation of their community’s patron saint. Even Observant convents were explicitly permitted to follow this practice, as recorded in the ordinances compiled by Johannes Meyer: “The sisters may solemnly sing and read the office of their convent’s patron saint on the feast of the Translation and they may sing sequences and observe memoriae. [Die swestren mögen hochzitlichen die zit singen und lesen von den patronen irs closters uff die tag ir translacion und sequencien singen und memorien halten.]” Engler, *Regelbuch*, 129.

[89](#). Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter perg. 31, f. 67r, f. 70r and 109r, f. 103r, f. 78r and 114v, f. 76r and f. 113v–114r. For Strasbourg saints, see Hamburger, Palmer, and Bürger, *The Prayer Book of Ursula Begerin*, 1:392–97.

[90](#). Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter perg. 31, ff. 69r and 108v, f. 107r, f. 109v.

[91](#). Supporting the possibility that this manuscript was produced around 1465 is the similarity of this manuscript’s “Hand 2” (responsible for ff. 80r–109v) to the main hand of the directoria that also belonged to Weiler (Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qu. 66 and 69). If indeed this is the same scribe (rather than two different scribes of the same “school”), then her career is rather difficult to imagine. It is possible that this ordinarium (St. Peter perg. 31) was copied mechanically from a St. Marx exemplar around 1465–66, when St. Agnes in Strasbourg was reformed to the Observance, with the participation of a sister (Hand 2) who was among the party later sent to reform Weiler, where she copied the directoria.

[92](#). For this event and its consequences for the Dominican convents of Strasbourg, see Leonard, *Nails in the Wall*, 34.

[93](#). I thank Stephen Mossman for the suggestion that it might have been sold rather than given.

[94](#). See Neidhardt, “Die Reise der Dominikanerinnen”; Jones, “Liturgical Manuals.”

[95](#). Catherine of Siena is mentioned in a marginal annotation at the bottom of f. 3r, but the note concerns scheduling and does not provide instructions for her liturgy. Similar updates to the scheduling instructions are also found on f. 16v, and there are otherwise no marginal annotations anywhere throughout the manuscript.

[96](#). Niebler, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter*, 1:67; Meyer, *Women’s History*, 19–21, 232–39; Doerr, “Klarissen und Dominikanerinnen,” 267–99.

[97](#). Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 98r.

[98](#). Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 202r.

[99](#). Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 126r, 217v. Two regional saints overlap in both manuscripts—namely, Ulrich (celebrated across southern Germany) and Gallus (common to both dioceses).

[100](#). Niebler, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter*, 1:67.

[101](#). The latter is elsewhere attested as confessor in Adelhausen in 1480 as Caspar Wittolt. See Doerr, “Klarissen und Dominikanerinnen,” 279. For Bötschner, see Neidiger, “Basel,” 256.

[102](#). Excepting Anthony of Padua, who is still missing from the office section but appears within the main text block in the mass section on f. 207v.

[103](#). Unlike in the Weiler manuscript, where mass for St. Anne appears in the main text block, the St. Agnes manuscript includes Anne—both office and mass—exclusively in marginal annotations.

[104](#). Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 205v.

[105](#). This affects Vincent Ferrer (f. 104r), Catherine of Siena (f. 105v), Anne (f. 113v), the feast of the Transfiguration (f. 115r), the Eleven Thousand Virgins (f. 121r), and the feast of Mary’s

Presentation (f. 125r).

[106.](#) Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 70r and f. 98r.

[107.](#) Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 228v–229r.

[108.](#) Hagenmaier, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 194–95.

[109.](#) Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 27, f. 87r.

[110.](#) Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 127.

[111.](#) This latter arrangement had been confirmed by the general chapter of the Roman Obedience in 1410. “One should always hold the first week of Advent in the right choir, according to the acts of the general chapter, that was celebrated in Bologna in 1410. There it says: We confirm this, that always in the first week of Advent, the hebdomadarian should stand and preside over the liturgy in the right choir with all things, and the choir should alternate, even if one needs to hold the previous two weeks both in the left choir. [Man sol alwegen halten die erste wuchen des aduentes jn dem rechten chor, noch jnhaltunge der acten des general Capitels, dz do celebriet wart zû Bononi anno domini M cccc x. Do stot also: Wir bestetigent dis, dz alwegen die erste wuch des aduentes der wuchner oder wuchnerin stande vnd dz ampt volbringe jn dem rechten chor mit allen dingen vnd wandelende die chör, sölte man ioch in den zweyen hindersten wuchen dz ampt halten jn dem lingen chor.]” Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 228v; *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:112, 136.

[112.](#) “One should always hold the first week of Advent in the right choir, even if one must hold the two previous weeks both in the left choir. [Man sol alweg die erste woch des aduents halften jm rechten kor, ob man schon müst jm lincken kor die zwo lesten wochen vor dem aduent halften.]” Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 27, f. 5v. “But always in the first week of Advent, the hebdomadarian stands and presides in the right choir, and after it alternates every week, one after the other, even if one has to preside in the two weeks before Advent both in the left choir. [Doch also dz alweg die erste wochen deß aduentes die wochnery standt vnd jr ampt gesche jn dem rechten kor, vnd dor noch verwandelt werd alwochen ein vm die ander, ob man joch müste dz ampt dún die zwo leste wochen vor dem aduent jm lincken kor.]” Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 27, f. 40r; Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 130.

[113.](#) Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 27, f. 58r.

[114.](#) St. Peter perg. 31, f. 105r; St. Peter pap. 45, f. 203r; B3 Nr. 27, f. 83r.

[115.](#) For the chapter on prefaces: “This chapter on prefaces has nothing to do with sisters, and therefore one should omit it, just as one omits the chapter on collects, for the sisters never sing it. [Dis capitel von der prifacion gät gantz nichtz an die swestren, darvmb man es sol vnder wegen lassen als das capitel von den orationes wirt vnderwegen bliben, wan die swestren das niemer singen.” Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 162v. For the chapter on censuring: “This chapter is wholly not for women’s convents, therefore one should omit it, unless one wants to observe it in the external church and not in the choir. [Dis capitel ist gantz nit für die frowen clöster, dar vmb sol man es gantz vsslossen, man welle es dann halten vss wendig jn der kirchen vnd nit jm chor.]” Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 45, f. 87r.

[116.](#) Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 131–32 n. 106.

[117.](#) Schramke, 130–31. The complete passages are included in St. Peter pap. 45, making it likely that Friar Niclaus is directly responsible for this choice.

Appendix 5

[1.](#) Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 105–6, 135–36, 217–18, 391–93, 404. For a rigorous definition of *rituale*, see Celora and Albiero, “Pour un protocole,” 293–95.

[2.](#) Hagenmaier, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 193–95; Niebler, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter*, 1:8–9, 67–68.

3. Cyrus, *Scribes for Women's Convents*, 175; Ehrenschwendtner, *Bildung*, 160 n. 477.
4. Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung*, 334. The catalog description may be found online at dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/sammlung7/werk/pdf/hs1500-15.pdf (accessed 5 August 2023).
5. Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, HS 1500,15, f. 2r.
6. Willing, *Bibliothek*, 488–90. Derived from the Latin *notula*, the German word *Notel* or *Nottel* is not otherwise commonly used to designate a specific liturgical book type. Indeed, it often appears in legal or economic contexts to describe records of binding agreements, contracts, or notarial instruments. “NOTEL, f.”
7. “This is the *notel* for how to do table readings [Item diß ist der notel, wie man sol zu tisch leßen].” Ruf, *MBK*, 3,3:639. See also Vosding, *Das Notel der Küsterin*; Weilandt, “Alltag einer Küsterin.”
8. Many obsequials had only very abbreviated rubrics. One such obsequial, likely from Altenhohenau, contains an appendix in a separate quire with the order's full standard instructions for death and burial rites labeled “on the communion of a sick sister, the full *nottel* [von der communion einer siechen schwester die ganz nottel].” Munich, BSB, clm 23319, f. 73r. Another such obsequial, likely from Heilig Grab in Bamberg has an annotation commenting, “This book lays out in order what one should sing and read for the rite of burial and there is no *notel* or very little in between. [In disem puch ist nach ein ander gesezt was man singen vnd lesen sol zu dem ampt der begrebtus vnd ist kein notel oder gar wenig do czwischen.]” Munich, BSB, clm 28821, f. 29v. These entries clearly use the term *notel* to describe the instructions for ritual action.
9. On the bottom margins of Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter pap. 45 one finds notes referring the user to another book: “for St. Agnes our patron, one finds both her feasts written in the half ordinal [von sant agnesen vnser patronin von iren beden hochziten vindet man an der halben notel geschriben]” (f. 98r) and “for the feast of Corpus Christi, one finds it properly in the book that we call the half ordinal, much instruction, look for it there [von vnseren herren fronlichnam hochzit findet man eigenlichen jn dem bûch dz wir heissent die halbe notel, vil vnderwisung, do sùch es]” (f. 70r). Special observances for a convent's patron, who would be celebrated at a higher rank than in the order at large, and of new or newly elevated feasts are precisely the kinds of information found in directoria.
10. Jeffery, “Music Manuscripts,” 13. As Eric Palazzo has outlined, these three book types display different contents to support different uses, and their manuscript representatives have chronological foci as these use contexts evolved over the course of the Middle Ages into the Early Modern period. Customaries are common in the early Middle Ages; they represent general regulations for the daily life of religious communities and, in addition to the liturgical information, frequently therefore include a great deal of information that has little to do with liturgical practice (e.g., descriptions of the abbot's areas of responsibility). In the high Middle Ages, communities began separating the liturgical instructions from the rest of the regulations and the genre of ordinals emerged; these manuals primarily focus on codifying liturgical repertoires by means of chant incipits, but they also include descriptions of liturgical rituals and sometimes even specifications about which liturgical vessels or vestments to use for which feasts. The Dominican ordinarium belongs to this class. Finally, from the fifteenth century on, ceremonials developed that describe in meticulous detail the ritual and material aspects of liturgy but which no longer provide incipits to coordinate liturgical texts. Palazzo, “Les ordinaires liturgiques,” 234–35.
11. For this definition of “Direktorium” in the German Catholic context, see Nagel, “Direktorium. I. Liturgisch.”
12. Fiala and Irtenkauf, “Versuch einer liturgischen Nomenklatur,” 119.
13. The printer's mark for this *libellus utilissimus* is found at the end of the final page. *Index siue directorium*, f. DD5r, doi.org/10.20345/digitue.18098 (accessed 5 August 2023).

- [14.](#) *Index siue directorium*, f. A3r.
- [15.](#) Maydeston, *Directorium sacerdotum*. Andrew Hughes uses the terms “pie” and “pica” to describe the scheduling instructions found in breviaries but not for an independent book type. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 299–300. See also King, *Liturgies of the Past*, 276, 315.
- [16.](#) Multiple editions of Guidetti’s *Directorium chori* are digitized and freely available online. A simple search in the Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en) brings up six digitized editions, from 1589, 1604, 1615, 1618, 1624, and 1665. The earliest is available at mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb10186067 (accessed 5 August 2023).
- [17.](#) Jeffery, “Music Manuscripts,” 13.
- [18.](#) Celora and Albiero, “Pour un protocole,” 241.
- [19.](#) Doerr, “Klarissen und Dominikanerinnen,” 288–91; Meyer, *Women’s History*, 237–38. For the history of the Freiburg Penitents, see also the relevant passages in Denne, *Frauenklöster*. For my arguments establishing the provenance of these manuscripts, see Jones, “Negotiating Liturgical Obligations,” 29–31.
- [20.](#) Jones, 30. For the catalog description, see Hagenmaier, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 193–94.
- [21.](#) For the catalog description, see Niebler, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter*, 1:8–9.
- [22.](#) Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25, f. 150v and 236v, f. 17r, f. 20r.
- [23.](#) This particular hand is locatable in Schönensteinbach, since it also recorded information about the feast of the Translation of Bridget of Sweden, the patron saint of the Schönensteinbach community and who was not commemorated in other Dominican houses. Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25, f. 127r.
- [24.](#) Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25, ff. 127r, 129r, 161r, 195v, 206r, 246r. For Schönensteinbach’s dedication to Bridget of Sweden, see Meyer, *Women’s History*, 65–66. For the cult of St. Adelf in Schönensteinbach, see Winnlen, “Schönensteinbach,” 48–49. These elements are absent from the Nuremberg branch manuscripts.
- [25.](#) Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25, f. 20r.
- [26.](#) Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25, f. 101v and 80v–81r. The ordinances of the Observant congregation permitted communities to sing special sequences for their patron saint on the feast of their translation. Engler, *Regelbuch*, 129.
- [27.](#) Niebler, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter*, 1:9. Such delayed manuscript exchanges are known from the Nuremberg reform networks; see, for example, Magdalena Topplerin, who continued to borrow and copy manuscripts from St. Katherine in Nuremberg for years after she reformed Maria Medingen in 1472. Willing, *Bibliothek*, lxxxvi, lxxxviii–xc.
- [28.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 60v and 61v; Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 5, f. 77r.
- [29.](#) Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 5, f. 144r. The catalog description highlights the references to Colmar and the bishopric of Constance and suggests that the manuscript was owned by a convent in that bishopric that had been reformed by Colmar, specifically St. Agnes in Freiburg. The specific suggestion of St. Agnes makes little sense, since it was reformed by sisters from the Steinenkloster in Basel, whereas Adelhausen was reformed by sisters from St. Katherine in Colmar. In any case, the references to Colmar originated with Schönensteinbach and are transmitted in all Observant directoria, including all manuscripts of the Nuremberg branch. They therefore cannot be used to determine the provenance of Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 5. Niebler, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter*, 1:8–9.
- [30.](#) Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter pap. 5, f. 141r.
- [31.](#) Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25, f. 101v–104r, 105v–106r.
- [32.](#) Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25, f. 90v and f. 110v.
- [33.](#) Von Kern, “Reformation des Katharinenklosters,” 9.

[34.](#) Ruf, *MBK*, 3,3:613.

[35.](#) Karteuserin died in 1489. During the period between 1452 and 1470, perhaps after she had stepped down as chantress, Karteuserin contributed to the production of numerous liturgical manuscripts. For her activity as a scribe of large-format choir books, see Sauer, “Zwischen Kloster und Welt.”

[36.](#) For references to Colmar, see Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 3r, 4v, 29r, 69r, and 133r.

[37.](#) Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25, f. 127v.

[38.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 45r.

[39.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 60r–61v, 63v, 66r.

[40.](#) *Das “Konventsbuch,”* 635–36. For the evolution of the altar-washing ceremony at St. Katherine in Nuremberg, see Giraud, “Observant Dominican Nuns’ Processionals.”

[41.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 63v.

[42.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 66r.

[43.](#) A letter preserved in the Basel friary’s reform notebook states explicitly: “In order to put your minds assuredly at ease, by the authority of this letter I permit you to let your confessor, clothed in priestly robes as appropriate, into your convent enclosure for the burial of a sister when it is necessary and to wash the high altar and the one in the side chapel as is the custom of the Holy Church every year on Maundy Thursday. [Vmb das dann mit sicher rüwe üwer gewissen in fride gesezset sient, so erloube ich üch mit kraft diß briffes das ir zu begrebde der swestern so wen das not ist vnd den fron alter vnd nebens in der Capellen ze weschen nach gewonheit der heiligen kirchen ierlichen in Cena domini üwer bichvater bristerlich gekleydet als dar zu gehöret in beslißung üwers klostere lassen mügent.]” Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, E III 13, f. 44v.

[44.](#) Engler, *Regelbuch*, 127.

[45.](#) Tschacher, *Der Formicarius*, 54.

[46.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 16, f. 81r–83r.

[47.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y f. 60r and 80r.

[48.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 45v.

[49.](#) “This book belongs in Weiler to [the convent of] Our Dear Lady. [Diß büch gehört gon willer zü vnser lieben fröwen.]” Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 69, n.p.

[50.](#) Von Loe, *Teutonia*, 40.

[51.](#) Württemberg was at the time divided, but both Eberhard of Württemberg-Urach and his uncle Ulrich of Württemberg-Stuttgart supported religious reforms. For their collaboration with the Dominican Observance, see Neidiger, *Dominikanerkloster Stuttgart*, 69–70 and 74–82. For the engagement of Esslingen’s town council, see Metzger, “Dominikanerorden,” 33–34.

[52.](#) In addition to Weiler, three further convents were brought to the Observance in 1478: Kirchheim unter Teck, Steinheim an der Murr, and Reutin near Wildberg. In 1480, Gnadenzell near Offenhausen was finally brought into the fold. Stievermann, *Landesherrschaft und Klosterwesen*, 276–78, 281–86.

[53.](#) These details about their trip survive because the sisters destined for Weiler traveled together with a party from Silo in Sélestat headed to Kirchheim unter Teck. One of these sisters composed a chronicle of the reform and its aftermath, including the details of the joint travel together with the Weiler reformers. This chronicle has traditionally been attributed to Magdalena Kremerin, Kirchheim’s reform chantress, but Nigel Palmer has presented a convincing case for Barbara of Speyer, Kirchheim’s reform bursar. Palmer, “Die Chronik der Nonne.” For this account in the chronicle itself, see Sattler, “Wie diß loblich closter,” 176–78.

[54.](#) Felix Heinzer has already noted the connection of Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 66 with the contents of the Schönensteinbach/Magdalene Sanctorale, Freiburg, StA, B3 Nr. 25.

According to Dr. Kerstin Losert, the penciled notes in the margins of the local catalog are Heinzer's observations. His notes on Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 69, also establish a connection to Weiler's ordinarium translation, Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter perg. 31.

[55](#). For a more thorough discussion, with specific examples, see Jones, "Liturgical Manuals."

[56](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 27r; Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 66, f. 22r.

[57](#). "Historia" technically refers to a set of matins responsories, but the incipit of the first responsory was often used to identify the matins prayer hour as a whole or even the day. For example, the Dominican ordinarium consistently refers to the first Sunday after the Feast of the Trinity as "*Deus omnium* Sunday" after the incipit of the first matins responsory. *In principio* is begun on the first Sunday of August and *Peto* on the first Sunday of September. The issue thus concerns the schedule of lessons for matins in the months of August and September.

[58](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 133r.

[59](#). Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 69, f. 75r.

[60](#). In an essay on these manuscripts, I used the very different entries for the feast of Vincent Ferrer (canonized 1455) to rule out the later generations of Nuremberg directoria as the sources for the Weiler copies, and I adduced further positive indications for Pforzheim as the intermediary. Jones, "Liturgical Manuals."

[61](#). Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 66, f. 21v.

[62](#). Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 69, f. 31v. The group of saints given for the altar washing in this manuscript match those in the processional Rome, Santa Sabina, XIV L 8, but I have not been able to conclusively identify the provenance of this manuscript either. Huglo, *Les manuscrits du processional*, 2:345–46.

[63](#). Stuttgart, WLB, cod. theol. et phil. qt. 69, f. 31v.

[64](#). Ehrenschwendtner, *Bildung*, 220; Willing, *Bibliothek*, lxxix.

[65](#). Schürstabin participated in maintaining Karteuserin's directoria, where her hand is found, for example, on Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 1r and Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 30v. She may simply have made clean copies for her own use.

[66](#). *Registrum litterarum*, 56.

[67](#). For her role in transmitting books from St. Katherine in Nuremberg to Maria Medingen, see Willing, *Bibliothek*, lxxxiv.

[68](#). The addition itself was altered; added text is given in parentheses. "(Once) If this day falls (fell) on the Sunday before ~~Passion~~ (*Laetare*), then one celebrated it on that same Sunday, this happened in 1492. [(Es) ge(fil)felt diser tag auff den dominica vor ~~passione~~ (*letare*), da hat man in begangen auff den selben suntag, daz ist geschehen m cccc l xxxij.]" Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 69, f. 64v. The text originally indicated the Sunday before Passion Sunday (which is *Laetare* Sunday), but "passione" has been crossed out and replaced with "letare," bumping the date back another week to *Oculi* Sunday, which is correct for 1492.

[69](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 147r–157v. Keiperin's Temporale directorium occupies ff. 158r–end.

[70](#). Karin Schneider labeled this second hand "Hand 9." Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, xxviii.

[71](#). The codex's limp parchment binding appears to be contemporary and original to St. Katherine in Nuremberg, so the situation is not a vagary of modern library restoration. Schneider, 392.

[72](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 4v. Barbara's feast formed part of the reunification legislation, ratified 1419–23. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:148, 160, 164, 180.

[73](#). Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 4v, 144v.

[74](#). I discuss her interventions for the feast of Vincent Ferrer in Jones, "Liturgical Manuals," 302–

- [75.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 69, f. 5r.
- [76.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 69, f. 255r.
- [77.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 159r.
- [78.](#) The single entry about St. Barbara on f. 159r does contain a concise indication of scheduling instructions for conflicts with Tuesday and Saturday and the instruction that Barbara's mass should be celebrated totum duplex, information that is also found in both entries in Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 69 in much more detail and expansive phrasing.
- [79.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 184r.
- [80.](#) This same scheduling conflict with the same solution is recorded in an addition in Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43y, f. 34r, where it is dated to 1473. The wording of this entry, however, is yet again different from either of the two entries in Keiperin's and the 1484 directorium.
- [81.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i, f. 172r–v.
- [82.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, f. 195r, 196v. *Acta Capitulorum*, 3:269, 292.
- [83.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i, f. 195r.
- [84.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 69, f. 208r.
- [85.](#) For discussions of this uniquely epistolary reform and the book exchange that supported it, see Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen*, 34–38, 207–18.
- [86.](#) Mengis, 288.
- [87.](#) The beginning of the correspondence cannot be dated with certainty, but it started sometime between 1476 and 1483. Mengis, 207–8 n. 13.
- [88.](#) *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 216. Both Mengis and Willing explicitly associate Wil, Dominikanerinnenkloster, M 8 with this entry. *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 117; Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen*, 289.
- [89.](#) Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i, f. 114r, and Wil, Dominikanerinnenkloster, M 8, f. 124r.
- [90.](#) Wil, Dominikanerinnenkloster, M 8, f. 184v–185r. The entry is entirely missing from Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Cent. VI, 43i. In Wil, Dominikanerinnenkloster, M 8, it appears in the main hand (that is, Regina Sattler) but in a different ink, indicating that it was written at a different time than the surrounding text.
- [91.](#) *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 535.
- [92.](#) *Das "Konventsbuch,"* 203.

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